Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-152
Wednesday
9 August 1989

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Arbatov Speaks at Varna News Conference

AU0808202989 Sofia BTA in English
1858 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Varna, August 8 (BTA)—At a meeting with journalists, Academician Georgiy Arbatov, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, people's deputy of the U.S.S.R. and director of the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies, spoke about the restructuring in the Soviet Union and the offensive of Moscow's peaceful policy.

Academician Arbatov said that the political reform, the first stage of which was completed by the formation of the new parliament, the government and the establishment of the new style of work and behavior, occupies the most important place in the processes of innovation. In his opinion the second stage of the reform will be completed next spring.

In another field to which the CPSU and the government have channeled their efforts—the economic renewal—the progress is difficult, the guest said. Not all problems have been solved yet, some things are not clear, there are failures, we have gained both positive and negative experience from which we draw lessons. He expressed his hope that considerable improvement will be achieved in this field as well.

Special attention was paid to the efforts aimed at the restructuring and the realization of the intellectual potential of the society—an area in which successful struggle is waged for freeing the thought and opening the floodgates for all creative forces.

Academician Arbatov pointed out that the peaceful Soviet policy in the international arena is being sucessfully implemented. I think, he said, that we are in a position that makes it possible to turn over a whole page of the post-war history of the world, to put an end to cold war and to build a world based on today's realities.

The Soviet politician and scholar has doubts as to the U.S. readiness for bringing about radical changes in her relations with the Soviet Union. As he put it, the most important episodes are missing in Washington's script: When the armament race will come to an end, when mutual confidence and normal relations will be established.

Bulgaria's policy in the Balkans is very constructive, the guest said. In the past this region was synonimous to conflicts and troubles. What has been achieved shows that the Balkans are not the front line of confrontation any more, they are quieter now. He underlined that Bulgaria, which is playing an important role in the implementation of the peaceful policy of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, has made an important contribution to its pursuance in the Balkans, too.

Kurds in Paris Condemn Anti-Bulgarian Campaign

AU0808153889 Sofia BTA in English
1336 GMT 4 Aug 89

["Cover for the Real Problems"—BTA headline]

[Text] Paris, August 8 (BTA correspondent)—The Movement for National Liberation of Turkish Kurdistan circulated a communique which condemns the anti-Bulgarian campaign launched by the Turkish authorities. The document exposes "the attempts of Turgut Ozal's government to divert public opinion in the country and abroad from the real problems of Turkey which she is unable to solve."

The malicious anti-Bulgarian campaign has actually raised fabricated problems, the communique goes on to say. The Bulgarian Muslims arrive in Turkey with their legal passports but the government of Turgut Ozal is spreading the fable that they have been turned out from their motherland. The government intends to settle part of them in Eastern Anatolia (Turkish Kurdistan) and to make use of them for the purposes of its operations against the fighting Kurdish people.

In conclusion the communique calls for putting an end to this unfair play with people's fates.

State Council Confirms Government Appointments

AU0908071889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Aug 89 p 2

[Text] The following very important acts are published in Issue No 60 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

—Decree No 1,470 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria dated 27 July 1989. The decree ratifies the Convention on Crimes and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft that was adopted by the International Conference on Aviation Law in Tokyo on 14 September 1963 by making the following declaration: The accession of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Convention on Crimes and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft does not affect its rights and responsibilities under multilateral and bilateral agreements on combating acts of illegal interference in civil aviation activities, to which Bulgaria is a party.

—Decree No 1,471 of 28 July 1989. The decree makes the following appointments: Aleksandur Yankov Dimov, as chairman of the Committee for Science and Higher Education and deputy chairman of the National Council on Education, Science, and Culture; Georgi Borisov Robev, as chairman of the Committee for Culture and deputy chairman of the National Council on Education, Science, and Culture; Andrey Viktorov Bundzhulov, as first deputy minister of of national education; Stefan Naydenov Chernev, as deputy minister of national education; Aleksandur Yosifov Yosifov,

as deputy minister of national education; Khristo Kostadinov Davidkov, as chief secretary of the Ministry of National Education, with the rank of deputy minister; and Todor Angelov Todorov, as chief secretary of the National Council for Education, Science, and Culture, with the rank of deputy minister.

—The Supreme State Arbitration Commission and the Bulgarian People's Bank have published Instruction No 1 of 1989 on applying Article 40 of the Order on Economic Contracts.

—The Bulgarian People's Bank has published a bulletin on foreign currency exchange rates valid on 1 August 1989.

State Control Committee Penalizes Managers

AU0908075289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Aug 89 p 2

[Report: "Bankruptcy of Principle of 'Collective Innocence'"]

[Text] The session of the State and People's Control Committee clearly demonstrated that, even under the present conditions of company-based organization, certain leaders have still not abandoned their old ways of thinking. I did not expect to hear again of attempts to pass on the blame for bad management to individuals, or of lack of flexibility, initiative, and economic foresight shown by everyone everywhere,except by the proven guilty party unmasked by the control organs. However, once again I heard of several such attempts. The director "passed the buck" to his deputies, and his deputies passed it on to the chief specialist.... One partner in the technological chain pointed an accusing finger at another, and he in turn pulled out documents to show that the trouble was caused by a third....

This judgment may appear harsh, but I firmly believe that such tactics, by which the blame is divided up until it becomes microscopic, of atomic dimensions, so that it ceases to be noticed, we have on many occasions before now caused immense damage to the economy. Indeed, the principle of "collective innocence" is a very convenient smokescreen, but it has one major defect, namely that it does not eliminate the losses, which still remain a burden for the state and the people!

For this reason, the State and People's Control Committee was uncompromising, and the session turned into a true instance of the bankruptcy of the principle of "collective innocence."

In a detailed reporters' investigation published on 15 July, RABOTNICHESKO DELO anxiously raised the question: "How can we free the bottles from 'the evil genie'?" The inspection carried out by the State and People's Control Committee in economic enterprises and state companies (the "National Agro-Industrial Union," "Industry for Man," "Bulgarplod," "Bulgarian Beer," "Vinprom," "Vegetable Oils," "Soft Drinks and Mineral Waters," "Ambalazh," and a number of goods producers) also revealed the reasons and proposed possible ways of overcoming the difficulties that have arisen in guaranteeing supplies of glass containers and packaging for the food and tobacco industry. Naturally, penalties were also imposed, and it was the penalties that prompted long and detailed explanations that almost culminated in providing exhaustive "grounds" of the kind: Look at what nature has done to us, for the past 5 or 6 years it produced only a token harvest, and then it suddenly gave us a comparatively good one! It is hardly surprising that this argument does not inspire confidence.

The following received reprimands: the directors of "Bulgarplod" Enterprises Tomi Tomev (in Lovech), Kuzman Kuzmanov (Yambol), Khristo Matev (Gabrovo), and Dimitur Milushev (Gorna Oryakhovitsa), for failures to purchase glass packaging offered by the "Ambalazh" Enterprise; and

Georgi Georgiev, former chairman of the "Khraninvest" Economic Trust in Stara Zagora, now working in the Khaskovo Municipal Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, for failing to meet the requirements of the canning and bottling industry for washing machinery for jars and bottles.

The attention of the following managers was drawn to the lack of effectiveness of the measures taken by them to provide the required quantities of glass containers and packaging for the current year: Konstantin Koev, first deputy chairman of the "Industry for Man" Association; Ivan Savov, deputy minister of agriculture and forestry and deputy chairman of the "National Agro-Industrial Union" Association; Atanas Ivanovski, chairman of "Bulgarplod"; Ivan Genev, chairman of the "Pulp and Paper" Association; and Lyubomir Gradinarov, former chairman of the "Kvarts" Economic Association.

The State and People's Control Committee ordered the leaderships of the economic complexes and state companies to take the necessary measures.

The results of the foreign trade activities carried out to date by the "Territorial Supplies" Economic Trust in Sofia can be described in much stronger terms, in relation to certain deals with foreign companies. Alongside certain successes, serious weaknesses and violations were also committed: Instead of "bearings, metallic and abrasive tooling, and materials and spare parts for trucks and buses," there was an outflow from Bulgaria of raw and other materials in short supply (aluminium blocks and wire rods).

The State and People's Control Committee imposed the following penalties:

dismissal for Tsvetan Georgiev Markov, chairman of the "Territorial Supplies" Economic Trust;

dismissal and a fine equal to 3 months basic salary for Nikolay Petrov Kolev, deputy chairman of the same trust; and

severe reprimand for Georgi Kirilov Stoilov, director of the "Ikhtiman Commune" Works in Ikhtiman.

Binding commitments were demanded from the leadership of the Committee for Material Management, the "Territorial Supplies" Economic Trust, and the "Plazma" State Company. The findings of the inspection will be passed to the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for prosecution proceedings to be instituted.

The case of the spoiled and rejected beer at the "Ledenika" Brewery in Mezdra may seem a petty affair, but this depends on one's viewpoint. The case relates to losses amounting to over 32,000 leva and, more important, resulted in an unsatisfied market during the hot summer days because of transportation difficulties and lack of flexibility.

The following penalties were imposed:

severe reprimand and fine equal to 3 months basic pay (1,200 leva) for Boycho Georgiev, director of the "Ledenika" Brewery in Mezdra, for failure to take effective measures;

reprimand and fine equal to 3 months basic pay (1,020 leva) for Pesho Dzhanabedski, general director of the "Mezdra Road Transportation" State Company, for failure to take effective measures to fulfill the daily orders accepted.

Appropriate binding commitments were naturally demanded to prevent the reoccurrence of such unpleasant cases .

Article Reviews Legislation on Foreigners
AU0808205089 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 4 Aug 89 p 2

[Article by Borislav Yotov, deputy public prosecutor in Sofia: "Hospitality Without 'Visa'"]

[Text] By adopting Decree No 1344, published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, Issue No 53 of 11 July 1989, the State Council introduced amendments and addenda to the Law on Foreigners Residence in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

All amendments and addenda are dictated by the requirement to update the legal documents related to regulations on foreign citizens entering and leaving the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It is significant, that at the very beginning of the decree in question, namely in Article 3, the term foreigner is clarified, as the status of persons who are not Bulgarian citizens, but citizens of an other country, or displaced persons. An individual who has been granted the permit to establish his residence in Bulgaria for an indefinite period of time is also considered a foreigner according to the terms of the law. A new definition, namely the term of transit visitor, has been established. A foreigner who enters our country through a certain border checkpoint and leaves Bulgaria within 30 hours through a checkpoint at the border with another country is considered a transit visitor.

To establish better guarantees for the security of traffic on our country's roads, Article 4, Paragraph 3 of the Law has been substantially amended imposing greater requirements on foreigners who are passing through Bulgaria with a vehicle on land, in the air, or by sea. It is absolutely required that they possess a permit, a registration document, and certificates of legal capacity and ownership related to the vehicle in question.

The amendment of Article 7 related to grounds for preventing an individual from entering, or passing through our country is conceived in the spirit of the democratization of legal norms.

The basic hypotheses for such refusal are related to the following cases: A foreign citizen has committed a crime, or a breach of public order; he has tried to enter the country, or pass through it with irregular documents, or he has committed a breach of our country's border-passport, foreign exchange, or customs regulations on the occasion of a previous visit. An additional regulation entitles Bulgarian authorities to prevent a transit passenger from entering our country in case he does not have the necessary financial means for his stay, or is deprived of visas and tickets enabling him to proceed to the other countries of his destination.

Article 19 has also been amended—foreigners who are authorized to establish their residence in the People's Republic of Bulgaria are entitled to work. Foreigners are authorized to exercise a profession, a trade, or an activity, but not according to labor contract regulations applying to Bulgarian citizens.

A new interpretation is being applied to cases in which the residence permit can be withdrawn and to the legal consequences of such events.

Substantial amendments have been introduced to Article 32 related to the fact that a foreigner who has been deprived of the right of residence and who fails to leave Bulgaria within the established period is considered an illegal resident, and may be expelled by the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, after the respective diplomatic, or consular mission has been notified. Foreigners who do not have the necessary financial means for their stay and further travel are given compulsory employment on the basis of Article 32, Paragraph 3 of the Law.

Improved legal guarantees for action in accordance with the Law are provided for the competent organs in applying the Law on Foreigners' Residence in Bulgaria.

Article 33, Paragraph 1 stipulates that the "application of a compulsory administrative measure, the refusal to amend this measure, and the refusal to grant permit of residence may be appealed against according to the Law on Administrative Action." This, actually, represents a serious expression of legal protection for the legitimate rights and interests of foreign citizens.

We should point out, on the other hand, that the administrative-penal regulations are showing a trend toward the increase of financial penalties in cases in which a foreigner commits a breach against the regulations of this law, with the exception of the hypotheses described in Article 7.

In closing my article, I would like to recall that Issue No 47 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK on 30 June 1989 published the amendment to Article 3 of the Code of Regulations related to the application of the Law on Foreigners Residence in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The amendments are aimed at the democratization of the entrance and transit visa regime. Extraordinary entrance and transit visas shall be issued by border check point authorities, as early as on the very day they have been applied for.

Such simplified and prompt procedures are in conformity with the principles of the final document adopted at the Vienna meeting. This is how the People's Republic of Bulgaria is actively contributing to the implementation of the international commitments stemming from the meeting, which represent a new contribution to our country's further construction as a highly developed and perfectly organized, law-governed state.

Citizenship Law Amendments Adopted, Expounded

AU0908073689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Aug 89

[Article by Vasii Radoilski, senior expert at the Ministry of Justice: "The Law on Bulgarian Citizenship"]

[Text] A law on amendments and addenda to the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship was adopted at the 10th National Assembly Session. This made it necessary to change and complement the code on Section 3 of the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship in 1969. It was decided that it would be more expedient to prepare a new code instead of introducing numerous amendments and addenda to the majority of instructions. The new code settles all the procedures related to Bulgarian citizenship. It conforms with the amendments and addenda to the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship and was published in Issue No 57 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

The new code settles the procedure of acquiring Bulgarian citizenship by naturalization, of releasing an individual from Bulgarian citizenship, and of restoring Bulgarian citizenship. This is possible only on the basis of a written request submitted by a person at least 18 years old. In the case of individuals under 14, the application has to be submitted by parents or guardians, while in the case of individuals between 14 and 18, the application may be personally submitted, provided the parents have given their consent. If both parents, or one of them refuses consent, the case is submitted to the minister of justice who is expected to act in the interest of the applicant. It is expressly pointed out that the consent of a parent, who has been deprived of his rights, is irrelevant.

The legal procedure of canceling naturalization and depriving an individual of his Bulgarian citizenship may be implemented only at the request of a state organ, or a public organization. No legal action shall be taken on the basis of tips submitted by private persons.

All petitions and proposals shall be submitted to the Ministry of Justice.

The number of documents requested in addition to the application shall be reduced. Part of them shall be replaced by a statement, whenever possible. The following documents shall be added to the application:

1. A declaration in a format approved by the Ministry of Justice. A specimen may be obtained through the Ministry of Justice, or at diplomatic and consular missions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria abroad;
2. A certificate showing no previous conviction for individuals over the age of 14;
3. A statement on the applicant's family status and financial situation;
4. A curriculum vitae.
5. A document certifying the payment of state fees, established according to tariffs determined in the Law on State Fees. In case the documents should be submitted to the Ministry of Justice, the amount of the fees is established according to Tariff No 1 of the Ministry of Justice (Published in IZVESTIYA issue No 17 of 1953; correction published in issue No 26 of 1953, amendment published in issue No 23 of 1960; DURZHAVEN VESTNIK issue No 71 of 1969; issue No 1 of 1970). If the documents should be submitted through a Bulgarian diplomatic or consular mission, the fees shall be established in accordance with Tariff No 3 on fees collected within the system of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, issue No 52 of 1985; correction published in issue No 52 of 1985; amendment and addendum published in issue No 61 of 1985, amendment and addendum published in Issue No 43 of 1989).

Documents in foreign languages should be submitted by the applicant in officially certified translations into Bulgarian.

Other documents, in addition to the aforementioned, shall be required in accordance with the nature of the application. They are described in Articles 7-10 of the code of regulations.

If, for example, the applicant wishing to acquire Bulgarian citizenship is a citizen of a state with which the People's Republic of Bulgaria has signed a convention on avoiding double citizenship, the citizen in question is expected to submit a document certifying his release from the citizenship of the respective country. If not, the application shall not be accepted.

Each application submitted to the Ministry of Justice requires the gathering of correspondence which shall be examined by an inter-departmental commission on the basis of Article 31 of the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship.

The minister of justice is authorized to decide, whether the issue of a decree on the case in question should be approved, or whether the application should be rejected. This decision is not subject to appeal. The applicant is entitled to submit a second application within 2 months, free of charge.

By issuing the code on the application of Section 3 of the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship and canceling the previous code of regulations, the entire legal basis related to the settlement of Bulgarian citizenship issues is brought into line with international standards in this field.

Ex-Forestry Minister Markov Honored on Birthday
AU0808182789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] The State Council confers the title of "Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria" With Gold Star and the "Georgi Dimitrov" Order on Yanko Markov Spasov for his active participation in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and the construction of socialism, and in connection with his 80th birthday.

Yanko Markov joined the Bulgarian Agrarian Youth Union in 1928, and since 1930 has been a member of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]. He was detained at police headquarters and interned for taking part in the anti-fascist progressive student demonstrations in 1929.

During the Ninth of September 1944 Socialist Revolution he took an active part in establishing the people's government. He has been a people's deputy from 1945 until the present, and has also served as a member of the BZNS Administrative Council, deputy minister of agriculture, vice chairman of the Bureau of the National Assembly, member of the Bureau of the Fatherland Front National Council, member of the BZNS Permanent Board, and minister of forests and forest industry. In 1974 he was elected secretary of the BZNS Permanent Board. He is a member of the State Council.

News Conference on Road Accidents in 1989
AU0908064189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Representatives of the Central Commission on Traffic Safety and experts from the Traffic Control Administration of the People's Militia Directorate met representatives of the mass media in Sofia today.

Concern was expressed at the news conference on the situation of road traffic in our country. Yordan Ormankov, spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, reported that 3,500 serious traffic accidents have occurred since the beginning of 1989; 725 people have been killed, and 4,500 persons have suffered injuries, as a result of such accidents.

This gloomy picture is mainly the result of lack of discipline and disregard for traffic regulations, a result of high speed and lack of a sense of civic responsibility on part of motor vehicle drivers.

It was pointed out that the situation is particularly grave and difficult in Khaskovo, Razgrad, Varna, and Plovdiv Oblasts.

Paper Publishes Party's Semkov Obituary
AU0908122689

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 8 August 1989 carries on page 6 a 400-word obituary on the death of Velko Tsanov Semkov, member of the Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Central Control-Auditing Commission, and "active fighter against fascism and capitalism," who died on 6 August 1989.

The obituary, signed by the BCP Central Committee, the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, and the Central Committee of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism, provides short biographical notes on the deceased, lists all his previous posts and activities within the party, stating that he served as first deputy chairman of the State and People's Control Committee, before being appointed a member of the Central Control Auditing Commission in 1986.

The obituary praises Semkov as a "true communist" in his relations with the people, and points out his "modesty, industriousness, selfless devotion, professional competence, and honesty."

Weekly Details Problems of Slovaks in Hungary

AU0908110689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Aug p 6

[Unattributed report in the "They Said—They Wrote" column]

[Text] LUDOVE NOVINY, the weekly newspaper of the Democratic Union of Slovaks in Hungary, carries an extract from a radio interview with Marie Jakabova, general secretary of the union. In connection with a question on the equal rights of members of the Slovak minority in Hungary, she spoke about "the financial problems and shortcomings which are placing restraints upon its further existence." The state allocates an inadequately small sum to the development of national education and to the revival and preservation of traditions. She defined the founding of a national board as a positive fact, however, at present information about how many Slovaks are actually living in the country is lacking.

CPCZ's Stepan Receives Cypriot Party Official

LD0808125189 Prague CTK in English 1112 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 8 (CTK)—Member of the Politburo and secretary of the Cent. Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) Donis Christofinis was received here today by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Party Prague City Committee Chief Secretary Miroslav Stepan. [sentence as received]

The Cypriot guest was informed of the process of restructuring and democratization of society and preparations for the 18th Czechoslovak Communist Party congress.

Miroslav Stepan and Donis Christofinis appreciated the good level of contacts between the two parties as well as the agreement of stands on basic international topics and expressed support for the struggle for a just solution to the Cyprus question.

The Cypriot guest appreciated the experiences from carrying out the restructuring and its creative realization in concrete Czechoslovak conditions.

Stepan Visits Compressor Plant, Holds Talks

LD0808223489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of the Prague City Party Committee, paid a visit to the CKD-Kompresory works today. At a discussion meeting with the economic management and party and trade union officials, the participants talked about tackling questions concerning the further course of society-wide restructuring and the securing of production tasks in the second half of the current year. They stressed that the securing of long-range contracts, especially with the Soviet Union, for the development and manufacture of the new generation turbocompressors, will be the test of the functioning of the new economic mechanism in their plant.

Miroslav Stepan also met the work-team headed by Antonin Mlady, Hero of Socialist Labor. During conversations and meetings, the participants expressed full support for the conclusions reached at the Prague meeting of front-ranking officials, members of the People's Militias, and the National Security Corps, and stressed the working people's demand for calm and order and resolute action against destabilizing attempts by the so-called domestic opposition.

Daily Comments on Lack of Unity Among Chartists

AU0808110989 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Aug 89 p 2

[Article by Dr of Social Sciences Rudolf Janik, Candidate of Sciences, of the Federal Press and Information Office: "The 'Chartists' Unity Is Only an Illusion; Somewhat Undemocratic Democrats"]

[Text] The various declarations, statements, and documents of Charter 77 suggest a unity of views and attitudes among chartists' and the proponents of other illegal groups. The chartists' documents are signed by three spokesmen who are appointed each year. In the case of one of them being absent (be it because he migrated, is being criminally prosecuted, or "was not at hand"), his stand-in is someone from the so-called collective of the Charter 77 spokesmen. In some cases, there might even be a distortion of the number of signatures under a document. This was demonstrated, for example, after the events in Prague's Wenceslas Square in January 1989, when the spokespersons for 1989, D. Nemcova and T. Hradilek, were interrogated, and Radio Free Europe continued to inform its listeners about the Charter 77 documents that the aforementioned two persons were supposed to have signed.

The practices of both Charter 77 and other illegal groups are tellingly illustrated by the content and substance of "democracy" as interpreted by those who regard our society as being undemocratic and not free.

Roughly 100 of the most efficient activists of the illegal groups as a matter-of-course demand that whatever is written in their statements must be regarded as quite unequivocal and undisputable. They might demand dialogue and discussion from society, but they themselves do not tolerate them. When one of the chartists is of a dissenting opinion, he must voice it in the form of samizadat, by a letter to one of the spokespersons, or in a form of a contribution to one of the emigre periodicals or Radio Free Europe. Of course, he is risking psychological pressure from leading chartists or at least isolation, which puts him in a difficult situation, because he has already isolated himself from society.

The Democratic Initiative Has Problems

Despite this, there are individuals who express reservations about some attitudes of the top-echelon chartists. The differences in opinions particularly concern the course of the struggle against the socialist system, mainly the struggle's pace and intensity. This, for example, was very clearly revealed by the establishment of one of the illegal groups, which calls itself Democratic Initiative. It is headed by E. Mandler, known for his antisocialists attitude from the pages of the periodical TVAR, which began being published in 1964 and, after it was banned, it again cropped up for a short time in 1968. R. Battek, M. Hajek, V. Havel, O. Havlova, L. Hejdanek, L. Lis, and other radical chartists also are involved in the Democratic Initiative.

But when the Democratic Initiative proclaimed itself on 15 September 1988 "effective immediately, a social and political movement," it remains isolated. It was forced to halt its activity. Although it resumed it in the middle of December 1988 at the pressure of V. Havel, P. Uhl, R. Battek, and others (including Radio Free Europe editor L. Cerovska), it no longer speaks aloud about being a "social and political movement." The radical chartists had violated the principle that Charter 77 is the umbrella organization of all illegal groups, and, above all, by their activity they imperiled the existence of those groups, and the strategy of "long march" aimed at gradually destroying socialism in the CSSR.

The chartists are extensively polemicizing about their own orientation. In the so-called declaration of intent of 1977, the chartists "pledged" not to formulate a political program. Many of them repeat this intention in a number of articles and essays. In a certain sense of the word, they also reaffirm this pledge, as for example, in the "Word to Fellow Citizens," which was published in the emigre periodical SVEDECTVI at the beginning of 1987 on the occasion of the Charter's 10th anniversary. Under pressure from the more radical segment of the chartists, those who realize that in Czechoslovakia there are not suitable conditions for open actions in the form of antisocialist opposition, the "Word to Fellow Citizens" draw attention to the fact that the Charter has never claimed the right to be "the sole spokesman in the struggle for human rights and freedoms." For example, E. Kanturkova advises to proceed more carefully. M. Hajek, too, did not have the courage to sign the document in which—on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the February 1948—they had to "disown the February." For this, he earned hard criticism not only from the ranks of radical chartists, but also from the post-February Czechoslovak emigrees active in the West.

Dissatisfaction With the Elite

On the other hand, for example, V. Havel does not think much of carefulness; he is even trying to play the role of an arbiter in conflicts among the chartists. This also was the case in the instance of the adoption of the Charter document dated 14 May 1988. It was conceived at the conclusion of one of the forums of Charter 77, which gave the impetus for the establishment of further illegal groups.

Other chartists—specifically M. Rejchrt and J. Dus—thought nonsensical, the assertion that "Charter 77, the purpose of which is to strive for the observance of human rights, although it cannot itself formulate and assert any concrete political program, should to a greater extent than hitherto support various nascent activities..." (LISTY No.5/1988). According to them, "He who does not and cannot formulate one's own political program—and the Charter was not and is not permitted to do this"—cannot "support only nascent political activity" or political activity in general. It is obvious that it was precisely the radical wing of the chartists which has enshrined the support for political activities in the final document of the chartists' forum. It is no coincidence that it is precisely V. Havel who answers the letter of M. Rejchrt and J. Dus. According to V. Havel, "identification" is not identical with "support." The conflict culminates with M. Rejchrt's and J. Dus' reply to V. Havel, when, "placated," they "explain that their feelings were not so much hurt by the "Charter's revision," as by the fact that Voice of America published the resolution of the Charter forum without a "discussion."

From the reply to V. Havel, it is obvious that a number of chartists are not happy whith the fact that only three spokesmen are speaking for them. When all chartists have been talking about democracy for a number of years, then it also should apply to them. Or, perhaps not? And this is the essence of the disunity within Charter 77, despite the fact that they appear united from outside. This also is the essence of their orientation. Just as an elite rules within the Charter, it would also like to exploit the Charter itself for "democracy," in which the elite would rule the entire society.

2,500 Imprisoned in GDR for Trying To Escape

AU0808121289 Hamburg BILD in German 8 Aug 89 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Honecker Strikes Hard"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin/Budapest—The leader of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], Honecker, has brutally increased pressure on exist visa seekers in the GDR. An unprecedented number of persons, a total of 2,500, have been imprisoned in the GDR because they tried to escape from the country. Many of them were caught while trying to get to the West via Hungary. Yesterday [7 August] the SED drastically curtailed the power of East Berlin lawyer Dr Vogel. According to information received by BILD, he is no longer permitted to promise GDR citizens that they will be allowed to emigrate if they leave Bonn's diplomatic mission in the GDR. Bonn is afraid that the GDR will close its border with Hungary in agreement with Budapest. [passage omitted]

According to information received by BILD from reliable sources, Vogel is only allowed to grant impunity to those GDR citizens who are currently in Bonn's permanent mission in East Berlin or in the FRG's embassies in Budapest and Prague. [passage omitted]

GDR-Hungarian Tourist Travel Reported 'Normal'

AU0908093089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Tourist Travel Between GDR and Hungary Going on as Usual"]

[Text] Berlin—In talks with journalists, the chief of the Hungarian travel agency in the GDR has rejected defamatory claims of Western media and politicians about restrictions on tourist travel between the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic. He said that tourist travel between the two countries was normal. He added that it was expected that 1.8 million GDR tourists would visit Hungary this year.

Trade Minister Talks With FRG Industry Senator

LD0808194989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1623 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil met Dr Peter Mitzscherling, the Berlin (West) senator for industry in Berlin today. The starting point of the talk was the statement made by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Walter Momper, governing mayor of Berlin (West), during their 19 June talks. The two sides underlined the increased deliveries and imports in the first half of 1989 and assessed them as a good basis for the further growth of the volume of trade between the GDR and Berlin (West).

Dr Beil referred to the increased purchases by the GDR of investment goods from Berlin (West) and the broader inclusion of medium-sized enterprises and trade societies in business relations. Dr Mitzscherling stressed the interest of the industry of Berlin (West) in the further expansion of trade with the GDR and stated that an even more comprehensive technological representation of firms and enterprises at Leipzig fairs and symposia was required.

Minister Dr Beil invited Senator Dr Mitzscherling to visit the 1989 Leipzig autumn fair The invitation was accepted with thanks. The talk was attended by State Secretary Joerg Rommerskirchen, Senate Councillor Manfred Hedrich, and Dr Franz Roesch, head of the industry and trade agency. On the GDR side, it was attended by Wolfgang Steger, main departmental head in the Foreign Trade Ministry.

Harry Tisch Meets With FRG Trade Unionists

AU0808173489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5-6 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Trade Unions Corroborate; Will Actively Work for Peace"]

[Excerpt] Rostock—Harry Tisch, chairman of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation, met with a delegation of the FRG Union of Bank, Trade, and Insurance Employees—which is a member of the German Trade Union Federation—led by its chairman Lorenz Schwegler in Rostock on Friday [4 August]. They had a frank and businesslike exchange of opinion on current tasks and experiences regarding the representation of trade union interests in the different social systems, and on problems of international developments. [passage omitted]

Regular Flights Between GDR, FRG Planned

AU0808173089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5-6 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Air Service Between Leipzig, Duesseldorf, and Frankfurt/Main"]

[Text] Berlin—To expand air service to fairs, Interflug will begin regular flights between Leipzig and Duesseldorf on 10 August, while Lufthansa will open regular service between Frankfurt/Main and Leipzig on 11 August. Thus transportation possibilities for tourists and business people will be improved. The flights will continue until 31 October 1989.

Annual Protocol on Tourism Signed With Romania

AU0808175589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5-6 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Tourist Travels With the Socialist Republic of Romania Agreed for 1990"]

[Text] Frank Stieler, deputy director general of the GDR travel agency, and Carpati Mircea Grigore, deputy director general of the Romanian travel agency, signed an

annual protocol on tourist relations for 1990 in Berlin on Friday [4 August]. Under this protocol, the GDR travel agency will sell 35,000 trips to the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the partner agency will sell 12,000 trips to the GDR. The offer includes tours of the Black Sea coast, the mountains, combined sea and mountain trips, attractive sightseeing tours, and package tours to resorts in the mountains. Special tours for people confined to wheelchairs will also be offered in 1990. These tours will be to Mangalia on the coast. For Romanian tourists, city sightseeing tours and tours focusing on special themes in the GDR are of particular interest. Trips to participate in the International Women's Day and the Leipzig spring fair will be offered to a larger extent.

Leipzig Expects 6,000 Exhibitors at Fall Fair

AU0908085889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Aug 89 pp 1-2

[ADN report: "Leipzig as International Trade Center Expects 6,000 Exhibitors"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—Roughly 6,000 exhibitors and exporters from all economic regions, as well as visitors from about 100 countries have stated their interest in the 1989 Leipzig fall fair which will be held under the motto "Flexible Automation" and will take place from 3 to 9 September, several weeks prior to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. They will find optimum opportunities for comparing performance, exchanging scientific-technological information, and doing profitable business.

Good Quality GDR Products

The exhibits of 2,800 combines and foreign trade and export enterprises of the host country, the GDR, include top products demonstrating the GDR's increased efficiency in its 40th year. [passage omitted]

Foreign trade enterprises from all CEMA member countries have announced their participation which will be oriented toward scientific-technological progress. As compared to the other socialist states, the most comprehensive palette of products will be presented by the USSR. [passage omitted]

CEMA Countries With Attractive Offers

The CSSR's presentation will be marked by diversity. About 30 foreign trade enterprises have reserved stands in nine halls and 13 houses. More than 40 Polish export and import enterprises will exhibit textile machinery, road vehicles, and chemical and medical technology. From the Hungarian People's Republic, 40 exhibitors have announced they will attend. Exhibitors from the People's Republic of Bulgaria will present a selection of investment and consumer goods to the international public. The representatives of many years of the Romanian export industry include Masinexport-import, with textile machinery; Vitrocim-Forexim, with woodworking machinery; Chimica and Danubiana, with chemical products; and Universal-Autotractor, with vehicles. The PRC, the Republic of Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic, the SFRY, the SRV, the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, and the DPRK will take part with collective exhibitions or representative stands. [passage omitted]

About 1,400 enterprises from all capitalist industrial countries of West Europe as well as Japan, the United States, Canada, Australia, and Berlin (West) will once again stress the high importance that leading concerns and trade companies as well as medium-size firms attach to Leipzig as an East-West trade center. [passage omitted]

Polish Leaders Express Thanks For Good Wishes

LD0808215689 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Relations with the GDR are highly regarded in the People's Republic of Poland. This was reaffirmed today by President Jaruzelski and Polish United People's Party [PZPR] First Secretary Rakowski in a letter to the GDR leaders in which they also expresses thanks for their greetings on Poland's National day. The conviction is expressed that the accords signed in Berlin in May will be resolutely implemented and cooperation developed further. This will result in progress in the solution of new tasks in both countries.

Rakowski, who expressed special thanks on his own behalf for the congratulations on his election, gave an assurance that the leaders of the PZPR and he personally would spare no effort to deepen the friendly relations between Poland and the GDR in the interests of the cause of socialism and peace.

Krowlikowski Says GDR 'Firmly' Beside China

LD0808185389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1545 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A photographic exhibition entitled "Pictures from China" opened in Berlin today. It is being staged in the Palace of the Republic to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC. The well-known GDR photographer Thomas Billhardt provides impressions of the everyday life of the Chinese people in the more than 140 large-scale color photographs.

The opening was attended by Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo member Egon Krenz, deputy chairman of the GDR council of state; Liu Changyie, PRC charge d'affaires in the GDR; and other public figures.

State Secretary Herbert Krolikowski, GDR first deputy foreign minister, said that the history of the Chinese popular revolution and the founding of the PRC on 1

October 1949 were events with a worldwide historical dimension which have a far-reaching importance for the destiny of the Chinese people, for socialism, and for the preservation of peace on Earth. The GDR people were celebrating this anniversary jointly with the Chinese people, to which they are linked in sincere friendship. The impressive photographs demonstrated the great achievements scored by the Chinese people under the leadership of its Communist Party in the building of socialism.

Krolikowski added: "As the latest events in China have shown, the Chinese people are determined to thwart all attempts—wherever they come from—to drive the country into chaos and backwardness. It became only too clear who are China's true friends and who are not, and who cannot desist from interfering in the internal affairs of socialist states." Today the GDR stood just as firmly at the side of the Chinese people as the German Communists had in past decades. "We thus are continuing the good traditions of the cooperation between the revolutionary workers' movements of our two countries, which were created in joint struggle in the 1920's and 30's by Comrdes Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, Deng Xiaoping, Zhou Enlai, and Zhu De."

The exhibition reflected Erich Honecker's official friendship visit to the PRC in October 1986, which introduced a qualitatively new stage in relations between the parties, states, and peoples, and created a stable, long-term basis for cooperation. It can be noted that relations are developing extremely rapidly and sucessfully on the foundation of the agreements concluded. The photographic exhibition introduced a wide range of events for the anniversary of the people's republic. These included the "Beijing Days" in Berlin next month, with performances by a Beijing Opera group.

U.S. Court Ruling on KAL Downing Viewed

AU0808192689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5-6 Aug 89 p 2

[Editorial by "F.K.": "Those Who Lied at That Time ..."]

[Text] The news broke recently; the event that it refers to happened less than 6 years ago. A South Korean passenger plane of the Boeing 747 type had been shot down over the island of Sakhalin on 1 September 1983. All 269 people on board were killed. As was reported yesterday [4 August], a U.S. federal court in Washington considers it as having been proved that the plane deliberately violated Soviet air space. The allegedly erroneous flight of the KAL 007 was an espionage flight. The court says in its opinion that the crew's behavior led to the downing of the plane. It had ignored the Soviet interceptors' radio signals and warning shots.

Thus, what the Soviet Union proved at the time, what responsible press organs reported, and what aviation experts throughout the world had recognized, is now also known to the court. However, at that time, the truth was drowned and even washed away in an unrestrained virulent campaign staged by politicians and mass media in Western countries, including the FRG. "Barbarism of the Soviet Government," "Act of Unparalleled Brutality," "Murder in the Sky"—these and similar headlines were published. The crime that was committed by the CIA, the death of 269 people which had deliberately been taken into account, was to be blamed on socialism. That was the intention behind the act.

The timing of the spying mission and of the subsequent media fuss was calculated as precisely as the course of the Boeing from Anchorage in Alaska to Sakhalin in the USSR. In November 1983, NATO planned to deploy, at any cost, the first Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in West Europe. That was the very reason why a provocation had to be launched that had been carefully planned long in advance. The dead were cold-bloodedly commercialized, so that an ice-age began in international relations; so that no result was reached at the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the United States; so that the actions of the peace movement against the deployment of missiles were drowned by a wave of anticommunist hysteria....

The Bonn daily DIE WELT wrote on 8 September 1983 that hopefully, the death of the 269 KAL passengers would contribute to "opening the eyes of some people in the West." There is a real opportunity to do so now. Granted, the Washington court ruling has not unearthed any basically new findings, but it documents—as a side effect, so to speak—who lied to the peoples thoroughly in the fall of 1983. However, that does not guarantee that certain Western media will henceforth commit themselves to the truth.

Poszgay Gives Speech, Examines MSZMP Renewal

LD0808131189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0445 GMT 8 Aug 89

["Excerpts" from speech by Imre Pozsgay, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP) Presidium, at an aktiv session in Szombathely on 7 August—recorded]

[Text] I think that the citizen's behavior which has only managed to arrive at a negative kind of consensus regarding the MSZMP, which is responsible for directing and for the crisis of direction—the crisis of society—has developed in this way also because the MSZMP has not been able to really prove, even to the present day, that it is prepared for renewal and that it is at a turning point. This must be accomplished by the MSZMP in keeping with several conditions, and from this point of view, the congress is opportune, and it must be admitted and accepted that the congress' hand is forced by the membership.

The congress must carry out three tasks regarding its relations with its own past and with the past 4 decades. Although there have been moves and important initiatives, which were also cathartic, sometimes causing quarrels, I repeat, here the party membership, and public opinion too, expects that an important forum—in this case the congress—should adopt a stance on these questions.

Facing the past does not necessarily have to take the form of self-reproach and self-flagellation. But, we can prove one thing to the public opinion of the country—that the great majority of the membership has no complicity in those crimes of which the oligarchic and narrow-minded leadership of one or other age was guilty.

Can a country, a nation be mutilated in such a way that just over 800,000 of its members, along with their family members and contacts, and sympathizers—millions—can be condemned in this country as guilty of the problems of the past era? The opposition cannot want this either, for there can never be a government which would be able to govern with a group that has been condemned in this way.

It will be a very difficult task to prepare a program. Society expects renewal from the MSZMP. It cannot expect this from the newcomers. The newcomers start with the advantage that they have no responsibility. This is natural. They are preoccupied with determining themselves, while the MSZMP is occupied with its own renewal, and all of a sudden we notice that the programs are ominously similar. So, the voting citizen faces a certain confusion of identity, and then once again there will be one sole pointer for him, his mood, and everyday experience, and this confirms the negative consensus, the negative general agreement.

It is not a question of an accident or technical error in the ominous similarity between the programs, but simply that whoever here wants to speak to this country must talk about the same problem. For this reason on some matters, such as the questions of programs and the political negotiations, I think it would be more advisable rather to strengthen the differentiating factors.

The third condition is that the renewal should extend to organization and to personnel policy, too. I consider it of the utmost importance to give back the right of initiative and action to the party membership, to take the membership out of that disastrous situation in which it is held responsible without being able to be responsible for the decisions. For this reason, the reform movements which have come about within the party must be seen as an encouraging sign, not alarming and shocking. A clear frontier must be drawn regarding how many groups there are within this one party, and how far and with whom can with stay together. In a multiparty political system, we should allow the membership to chose for itself. In that case, an MSZMP appealing to the center of the nation can be created at the forthcoming congress. If it cannot accomplish this, its electoral chances will not increase.

So, either the MSZMP as a renewed political force striving toward the center of the nation offers its governmental force and experience to the country, so that there should not be anarchy, nor a turbulent conflict-ridden transition. [sentence as heard] If the membership is the trustee of the party's policy, then the organizational principles which have been lived through a thousand times, and failed a thousand times, must also be changed. The most significant of these is democratic centralism. It does not work. Up to now, this has always brought nothing other than beaurocratic centralism. The membership needs a certain federalism, free organizing, and internal platforms and movements within the membership, too. In this case, it will be a lively party; otherwise it can only be a state-party or party-state.

I think of these as frontier markers and elements of construction from which there can be a political movement toward national consensus.

Pozsgay Receives Subcarpathian Hungarians

LD0808201389 Budapest MTI in English 1644 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 8 (MTI)—On Tuesday Minister of State Imre Pozsgay [member of the MSZMP Central Committee Presidium] met Sandor Fodor, president of the Hungarian Cultural Federation of sub-Carpathia, and Miklos Kovacs, member of the Federation's leadership.

Mr Pozsgay was briefed on the activity of the recently set-up Federation, and its plans to establish relations with the motherland.

Mr Pozsgay reported on the tasks and activity of the minority college affiliated to the Council of Ministers, and the responsibility of the government for the Hungarians living beyond the borders.

Official on Plans To Accept GDR Refugees

AU0708155089 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 7 Aug 89 p 2

[Paul Vecsei report: "Hungary Expands its Camps for Asylum Seekers"]

[Excerpt] Budapest/Vienna—It is still unclear as of when it will be possible for GDR citizens in Hungary to be granted the official status of refugee. Judit Toth, an official from the "Office for the Rights of Refugees," which was established in April in the Hungarian Interior Ministry, expressed surprise in a talk with DER STANDARD on the reactions to statements she was quoted as having made concerning asylum for GDR citizens: "So far, there are only plans. We are making preparations, but we cannot do anything until the legal basis is created. As a matter of fact, we do not have this basis now." However, she expects the government to make a decision on this issue within 1 month. [passage omitted]

'High-Ranking' Official Speaks on GDR Refugees

AU0808153089 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 8 Aug 89 p 3

[Report by DER STANDARD correspondent Werner Stanzl: "The GDR and Romania Even Demand To Expel Hungary From the Alliance"]

[Text] Budapest—A very high-ranking Hungarian official from the field of "domestic security" told DER STANDARD yesterday [7 August] that currently Hungary is violating the CSCE human rights document several times a day.

The official, who asked not to be named, said that there are great differences within the political leadership of his country with regard to this question and that the GDR and Romania have accused Hungary of "flagrant violations of loyalty to the alliance and of international law ... they have even demanded that we be expelled from the alliance, at least from the military consultations of the Warsaw Pact." The GDR leadership has completely moved over to the Romanian stance in this question, he said.

Some 10 percent of GDR tourists pretend to go on vacation to Hungary in order to be able to examine the possibility to flee across the green border to Austria, our informer said, adding that there are no exact figures, because the GDR tourists "do not trust us at all" and, if anything, only turn to the FRG Embassy in Budapest.

"There they run the danger of having their photographs taken by GDR state security agents while lining up in the road to get information from the Consulate on the possibilities of getting to the FRG." Our informer noted that the Hungarian security forces "of course" know who these agents are but can do nothing against them because they do no infringe on any laws.

He is surprised at how the representatives of FRG missions are dealing with the GDR citizens, he said. "They do not even allow them into the front yard, but most of the time they make them wait in the street until it is their turn. In the end the GDR citizens receive a few FRG marks and are sent away."

On Sunday morning, too, there was a line of desperate GDR citizens in front of the closed embassy gates. DER STANDARD met a family with two small children from Frankfurt/Oder.

They tried to flee to Austria on Thursday near Sopron but attracted the attention of Hungarian border guards. "Suddenly the floodlight came on, a few soldiers fired into the air, laughed, arrested us, and took photographs of us at the police station as if we were criminals. Then we had to sign a text in Hungarian which was not translated to us, even though the police officer spoke perfect German," the crying mother said. "However they did not stamp our passports which would have given us away to the authorities in the GDR. We were only told that if they caught us again we would have to return to the GDR immediately. As you know, there we would have faced prison for 4 or 5 years for attempting to flee the GDR."

"That is not true," says our partner in the talk from the field of domestic security in Budapest. "According to guarantees, which we received from the GDR Embassy in Budapest, fleeing the GDR is no longer punishable with imprisonment."

We go on to ask why the Hungarian border guards did not simply release the GDR citizens. "Fortunately, in most of the cases this would happen. However, we cannot direct our authorities out there to disregard our laws. Nevertheless, we gave them several instructions:

First, do not shoot. Second, those who try to cross the border must not be confronted with physical resistance, even less so in the case of families. Third, leaving Hungarian territory is a less grave violation of the law than illegally entering the country. We have pointed out that Austria is on the other side of the border, and that people there will deal with the problem because they are more affected by it."

When GDR refugees manage to reach Austrian territory they either turn to security organs or set out to walk to the FRG Embassy in Vienna, where provisions will be made so that they can travel to the FRG.

"This settles individual cases," our interlocutor from Budapest said, "but on the whole, Hungary is in a terrible quagmire regarding the question of the GDR

tourists. First of all we are grateful for the discretion on the part of our friends in the West. Nevertheless, we are violating the CSCE document every day. It is important that nobody sets out to charge us with it now."

We cannot solve the whole problem alone, even less so considering that our leadership has fallen out with one another in this question. Our colleagues from the big wide world department (he is referring to the department of foreign policy) tell us that this topic must disappear so that our Western partners' reservations do not suddenly turn into a public charge at upcoming international conferences, now that we finally reached the status of a guest at the Council of Europe."

"If we then suggest: Fair enough, then the GDR citizens can apply for political asylum here and we will generously examine these applications, then our colleagues say: Do you want Honecker to completely crack up by confirming toward the whole world that there is political persecution in the GDR? People get sometimes so excited at these meetings on the German-German topic that they start quoting Goethe."

Border Officials Stamp Passport of GDR Citizen

AU0908101089 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 9 Aug 89 p 3

[Report by Tibor Fenyi: "Stamping GDR Citizens"]

[Excerpt] Budapest—On 4 August Alex Lichtenberg wanted to travel to the Hungarian village of Bodecshaza, near the Yugoslav border. The train was some 30 km away from the destination of the 23-year-old student from Dresden, when two young people ordered him to produce his identification. Without taking into account linguistic problems of understanding, they dragged the protesting tourist off the train and took him to the barracks of the border guards in Lenti. There he was immediately introduced to an interpreter for GDR citizens who are caught trying to crosss the border illegally. Alex protested: "But I did not violate border regulations, it cannot be a crime to sit on a train."

The Hungarians thought differently. The embarrassing interrogation lasted for 7 hours, during which the irritated young man was recommended to finally admit that "he had tried to defect to Yugoslavia by breaching the inviolability of the Hungarian state border." After short breaks in the interrogation the "suspect" gathered from the officials' further inquiries that in the meantime they had contacted security authorities in Dresden.

Completely worn-out and intimidated, the student finally signed a statement; a stamp was put into his passport according to which he had to leave the Hungarian People's Republic by 6 August. Alex knew that if he returned he would face severe punishment. Hungarian friends advised him to turn to the FRG Embassy. [passage omitted]

Campaign Official on MSZMP Election Failure

LD0808112389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1715 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Excerpt] At the by-elections in Szeged and Kecskemet on 5 August the candidates of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] won and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] candidates lost. Gabor Borbely, former editor in chief of NEPSZABADSAG, currently head of department of the Central Committee, one of the directors of the MSZMP election campaigning, speaks to Budapest radio.

[Borbely] One of the lessons is that the MSZMP did not pay sufficient attention to the fact that by-elections mean a sizing up of political power. We held the view that these by-elections would not fundamentally change the composition of the National Assembly and we must admit self-critically that we underestimated somewhat the significance of by-elections.

[Unidentified correspondent] Will the MSZMP take the general elections more seriously and will the current party leaders, Central Committee members, and Political Executive Committee members enter as candidates in the constituencies or will they be placed onto the more comfortable national list?

[Borbely] I cannot yet answer where and in what form the MSZMP leaders, the members of the various bodies will stand. I can say however, that one of the determining and fundamental aspects of the MSZMP's candidate appointing procedure is that it should have a candidate in every constituency and that these candidates be the most creditworthy people possible, people who can assert in a suitable way, all the ideas of the MSZMP's reform policies. [words indistinct]

[Correspondent] The ruling party in Poland had an agreement prior to the elections with the opposition Solidarity on the distribution of seats. The MSZMP has not made any such agreement with the opposition. Is it conceivable that if it looks as if the MSZMP will suffer a resounding defeat that they will after all sit down and talk about this?

[Borbely] The MSZMP does not plan to initiate a kind of agreement like that developed by the Polish United Workers' Party. Every party must be measured during the course of unequivocally free and democratic elections, and it must be on the basis of this that the political power balance must be formed in the National Assembly.

Naturally this does not rule out the possibility of creating a certain election cooperation in individual constituencies. For, we have experienced in almost all of the by-elections so far that the HDF and other political

organizations formed a certain prior electoral pact and this greatly helped the performance of the HDF candidates. We must think of similar solutions in the future. [passage omitted]

Social Democrats Plan Next Congress for November
LD0908005789 Budapest MTI in English
1604 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 8 (MTI)—The Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) will once again participate in the work of the opposition roundtable, and will hold its congress from November 4 to 6.

A unity of action has also come about between the platforms and groups of which the party is composed in the issue that a party conference should be held at the end of September prior to the congress. All this was reported at a press conference held on Tuesday in Budapest by the national party leadership of the MSZDP.

Dr Ferenc Kitzinger, party representative, noted that the MSZDP is to establish close relations with the independent organizations which were set up through democratic means and which profess the interest representation of Hungarian workers as their own cause. The idea of establishing contacts with the trade unions affiliated to the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) was also raised. Talks will decide whether the founding of a social democratic trade union is necessary or not. Dr Anna Petrasovits, also representing the party, announced that the platforms within the party have agreed to end hostilities, and the party will participate at the opposition roundtable talks from this Thursday. She said that the Social Democratic roundtable will meet in session from Friday, the platforms will coordinate their ideas and programmes, and will also deal with organizational and personnel issues, and financial matters.

It was also reported that the Social Democratic Party of Hungary shortly intends to nominate a candidate for parliament in Zala County.

Interministerial Talks on Meat Shortage Held
LD0808215889 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] There were interministerial discussions today concerning the issue of meat shortages. Our correspondent was curious as to whether it was really the increased export that caused Hungary's meat shortage, and whether those responsible have been ascertained.

[Correspondent] As it is customarily said, we managed to obtain the reply to our question via informal channels, that is, the competent source from the Ministry of Trade cancelled the arranged interview at the last minute. According to information we obtained by telephone, the Ministries of Trade and agriculture, the Prices' Office, the Budapest Council, and competent parties in the meat industry decided on short-term measures to eliminate the meat shortage that is appearing in certain areas. Thus, certain export products will be directed back to the domestic market. Proposals alone were voiced for long-term measures.

It will be the government that must decide on raising producers' and the government's buying-up prices, and also on whether this price increase will be apparent in consumers' prices. Our informer wished neither to confirm nor deny the MAGYAR HIRLAP report of a 1.3-13 percent price increase, which has been worked out in detail, and which would pertain to cold-cuts and fats.

[illegible]vinist Pastor in Romania Arrested, Released
LD0808190489 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Excerpts] In the past 2 months, the Romanian police have beaten to death two people of Hungarian nationality. This has been reported by the Romanian League for the Protection of Human Rights, with headquarters in Paris, referring to information of its members working amid illegal circumstances. [passage omitted]

According to a report from the league, Calvinist pastor Laszlo Tokes was taken at the weekend to a guardhouse in Temesvar. Speaking to Canadian Television, he had criticized Bucharest's policy. [passage omitted]

In the meantime, we have learned that Laszlo Tokes is already at his home and his friends have been able to get hold of him by telephone from Budapest.

New Envoy to Denmark Received by Nyers, Others
LD0808170789 Budapest MTI in English
1445 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 8 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] president, Rezso Trautmann, deputy president of the Presidential Council, Matyas Szuros, speaker of parliament, and Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Laszlo Demus, Hungary's new ambassador to the Kingdom of Denmark, who is soon to leave for his post.

Walesa's Coalition Government Proposal Viewed

Offer 'Worth Looking At'

AU0808122889 Paris AFP in English
1219 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Aug 8 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa's offer to form a coalition government with the Polish Peasants' Party and Democratic Party, pushing the ruling Communists into opposition for the first time ever, is being seriously considered by leaders of the two groups.

"The (coalition) proposition deserves serious examination. It will be at the centre of talks at the ZSL (Peasants' Party) meeting on Wednesday," a party spokesman told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE Tuesday.

A Democratic Party (SD) spokesman said the coalition offer "is worth looking at and will get a reply from the party's leadership."

A coalition comprising Solidarity, the ZSL and the SD, would have a comfortable majority in the Diet (parliament) with 264 deputies in the 460-seat house.

Solidarity won a total of 161 seats in the June legislative elections, while the ZSL won 76 and the SD took 27 seats. [passage omitted]

Walesa Seeks End of Party Monopoly

LD0808164489 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish
1500 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by Olgierd Pawlowski; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Pawlowski] The presidium of the National Executive Commission of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union met in Gdansk today. Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa took part in the meeting. Mr Chairman, what were the subjects of debate?

[Walesa] Altogether there were ten subjects of debate. All are very important. All concern the situation in the country and it is hard to pick any of them out as more important than another. I think that this time, generally, we are keeping the debate confined to what the country is experiencing. So, the subjects are all linked with the current situation: increases, compensation, the premier, and the situation in the shipyard and the region and the matter of (?assets). So, these are all very important issues for our trade union.

[Pawlowski] The word premier has come into the conversation. Concerning your declaration, which was carried by PAP yesterday, I would like to ask if the declaration is an offer to possible future partners in the government, or is it the outcome of some initial discussions already held?

[Walesa] Of course, we have talked and are talking to different people from different parties [stronnictw i partii], but this is not an outcome. It is our (?concern), which is to put it briefly: We think and society thinks that we are aiming, that somebody in the country is aiming to rebuild the monopoly. Really, (?it lasted) 45 years. Not everything has been cleared up. We lay the blame for everything that is bad on the monopoly in force. It was the Polish United Workers Party, above all, which took advantage of that monopoly. In view of this, to really demonopolize, a chance must be given to the others, who came under that monopoly. We hope that the more experienced parties, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, which have more experience, understand this situation and together with (?us) will create something which will put Poland out of the monopoly and solve Poland's problems, [word indistinct] in different conditions and in a different situation.

Walesa Press Office Communique

LD0808212589 Warsaw PAP in English
1829 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug 8—On today's publication of the statements by the press spokesmen for the Democratic Party Central Committee and for the United Peasants' Party Central Committee on Lech Walesa's offer to form a coalition government, the press bureau of the "Solidarity" leader conveyed to PAP the following communiuque:

"In connection with the statements made by representatives of the Democratic Party and the United Peasants' Party, the press bureau of the 'Solidarity' independent trade union chairman states that Lech Walesa's stand on a future government has been known for many days to all those who wanted to learn about it."

Democratic Party on Proposal

LD0808141689 Warsaw PAP in English
1307 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 8—Spokesman for the Democratic Party Central Committee Elzbieta Otffinowska has passed to PAP the following statement:

"The proposal put forward by chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity Lech Walesa requires serious examination and decisions by appropriate statutory bodies of the Democratic Party. It will be taken into account if the good of the nation and the state requires this. It is a pity that the proposal was not presented earlier."

"Lech Walesa's press statement will be one of the topics to be discussed by the Democratic Party [DP] Central Committee Presidium and the authorities of the DP parliamentary floor group on August 9."

Democratic Party Ready To Join

LD0808212789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2002 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, August 8 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Polish Democratic Party is willing to leave the government coalition and enter an alliance with the Solidarity opposition "if it is for the good of the people and the state."

This was the first reaction to yesterday's statement by Solidarity President Lech Walesa who proposed that the government be formed by Solidarity, the United Peasants' and Democratic Parties to end the postwar monopoly of the communists.

In a press statement, a spokesman of the Polish Democratic Party said that authorized party bodies would "seriously consider Walesa's proposal on a tripartite coalition."

The United Peasants' Party negatively reacted to Walesa's proposal, which was also on the agenda of today's session of the Politbureau of the Central Comittee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Details about the future Polish Government have not yet been disclosed.

Peasants' Party To Examine Offer

LD0808164289 Warsaw PAP in English 1446 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 8—The spokesman for the Central Committee of the United Peasants' Party (UPP) has conveyed to PAP the following statement:

"The United Peasants' Party has got acquainted with Lech Walesa's statement addressed to our party and the Democratic Party through the POLISH PRESS AGENCY.

"The UPP has stressed many times that only a government of grand coalition can be effective and efficient, win social credibility and carry the burden of pulling the country out of the deep economic crisis, consolidate the evolutionary complex process of pluralistic democracy and remove the existing threats.

"Lech Walesa's statement publicised by mass media will be examined by the UPP Central Committee Presidium."

Anti-Walesa Solidarity Group Adopts Resolution

AU0908102089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Aug 89 p 2

[PAP report: "A 'Secretariat for an Accord on Democratic Solidarity Elections' Appointed"]

[Text] Szczecin—The third national meeting of participants of trying to reach an accord for the sake of democratic elections to the "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union (involving groups that are opposed to Lech Walesa) took place in Szczecin on Saturday, 5 August. A seven-man secretariat was appointed, consisting of: Marian Jurczyk of Szczecin, Seweryn Jaworski of Warsaw, Daniel Podrzycki of Dabrowa Gornicza, Andrzej Slowik of Lodz, Stanislaw Kocjan of Szczecin, Romulad Szeremetiew of Leszno, and Jerzy Przystawa of Wroclaw. Marian Jurczyk was elected chairman of the secretariat by secret ballot.

The secretariat will organize democratic elections inside the union and prepare a "Solidarity" draft program.

Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki and Wieslaw Chrzanowski, a lawyer and joint author of the 1980 "Solidarity" statute, also attended the meeting.

The meeting adopted a resolution saying:

"The latest increases in prices and wages, otherwise known as a pro-market orientation of the food industry, are leading inexorably to a fall in the standard of living. Those who planned these increases must have been aware of that. The increases are placing broad masses of workers in a tragic situation. This situation is causing justifiable defensive action, and poses an understandable threat of a new wave of strikes. Our accord supports all action aimed at protecting society's standard of living. At the same time, the attention of work forces is drawn to the fact that a strike is also a threat to the economy and must be considered an ultimate weapon. We call upon the Sejm and Senate, and particularly those of you elected to these bodies on the strength of "Solidarity's" prestige, to undertake immediate political action aimed at altering the economic policies that are presently being implemented by the authorities of the Polish People's Republic."

Politburo Considers Economy, Walesa Statement

LD0808182389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] A meeting of the Politburo was held today. The communique published after the meeting leads inter alia: The Politburo assessed the current political, social, and economic situation in Poland. In a discussion the problems of putting the economy on a free market footing were the focus of attention. The Politburo ordered all party echelons to follow carefully [as heard] the social mood and support all the initiatives aiming at improving the situation in the food market and to

cooperate energetically with all social forces, particularly with the trade unions, to eliminate shortcomings resulting from indolence, lack of care, and lack of adaptibility by trade offices and institutions to the new situation. The Politburo empowered Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek to convey to the ministries concerned the comments submitted by party members concerning the conduct of this difficult and complicated social and economic maneuver.

The Politburo examined the issues connected with forming of the new government. The mission to create the government has been entrusted to Czeslaw Kiszczak by the Sejm, at the motion of the president. The Politburo expressed appreciation for Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak in his efforts to create a grand coalition government. The party leadership continues to hold the ideas which were at the base of this concept.

In this context, Monday's statement by Lech Walesa opposing the formation of a government by Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak was the subject of interest. Without exaggerating the importance of the statement, in a discussion, the Politburo members pointed out that it complicated the prompt formation of the efficient, effective, and competent cabinet which is so badly needed by Poland. It is yet another obstacle to Czeslaw Kiszczak's mission created by the opposition, because earlier it rejected the concept of a grand coalition, resolutely refusing to allow its representatives to be part of the new Council of Ministers. It is also a manifestation of efforts to break apart the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]-United Peasant Party [ZSL]-Democratic Party [SD] coalition, or at least, making their political cooperation much more difficult. Lech Walesa's initiative creates the danger of creating a government crisis, which certainly does not serve the cause of stabilizing the situation in Poland, and which is a manifestation of efforts to wipe out the roundtable's achievements and to put a question mark over the durability of the agreements achieved there.

The Politburo also examined and defined conclusions and tasks resulting from the 13th Central Committee plenum resolution. The Politburo considered as the most important task of the party to counteract the disintegration processes and to revitalize its fundamental links, as well as carrying out preparatory work for the commencement of the congress campaign.

Miller Outlines New Politburo Responsibilities

LD0808212189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Interview with Leszek Miller, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, by Correspondent Aleksandra Jakubowska on 8 August; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Miller] We assessed the sociopolitical situation, chiefly in the context of the problems linked with marketization of the food economy. Finally, we divided up the tasks among Central Committee secretaries, particularly among the new, young ones, Comrade Wiatr will be looking after ideological matters and (?intraparty cooperation). Comrade Swiecicki will handle matters connected with social and economic policy. Comrade Krol will handle propaganda and information activity.

[Jakubowska] Did the Politburo take a stance on Lech Walesa's statement yesterday?

[Miller] Yes, that was a subject of discussion. The discussion focused on the following comments: As the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], we continue to support a grand coalition. Lech Walesa's declaration proposes a limited, truncated coalition. Second, it is aimed against a Sejm decision which, after all, literally a couple of days ago elected a new prime minister. On the other hand, this declaration would seem to eliminate the new prime minister, this elected prime minister, from the composition of the future government. The formation of a new government is an exceptionally burning issue. Many matters have acumulated which need urgent settlement. Prime Minister Kiszczak has spared no effort to get this government formed as quickly as possible. Meanwhile, this kind of declaration undoubtedly will complicate and hinder that process. Finally, as a PZPR member, I have to say that each of us must recognize that this kind of declaration is an attack on the party and it also is undoubtedly aimed against the coalition, against the lastingness of that coalition, and aims to hinder coalition cooperation.

Rakowski Delivers Speech at PZPR Plenum

AU0408140989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jul 89 p 3

[Speech by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, at the 13th Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 30 July]

[Text] Esteemed comrades!

It would be presumptuous of me to try to sum up our 2 days of discussion. The discussion had many themes, and various views were expressed on the arrangement of the political forces that have emerged in our country over the last few months. One characteristic of the discussion that I consider to be beneficial for the party and its future was that the comrades who spoke did not dwell on the past, but concentrated, first and foremost, on what awaits us, on what we should do so that the party can recover its position in society and become the vanguard that will shape social relations in Poland. I like this way of thinking and considering future action. It is in complete accord with my view of the role of the party in which I acquired experience and lived through moments of both happiness and sadness. I would like to believe that I will find more than just statements of support from party ranks for all the actions that must restore our internal strength and bolster the belief that

the path of reform that we have chosen will be of benefit to the Polish people and the future of socialism within Poland and in the world as a whole.

Comrades, in ascertaining and profoundly analyzing the causes of our weaknesses, errors, and setbacks, we do not have to constantly fall to our knees before our political enemy, we do not have to behave like the rabbit that is paralyzed by fear when he sees a snake. There are 2 million of us! We are a great army. We possess great strength. This strength has still not been galvanized to a significant degree, but this does not have to remain the case. Indeed, things cannot remain so. We cannot allow ourselves to be silenced, to be shouted down by demagogic calls or the total negation of the historic achievements of past decades, during which revolutionary changes were effected that have benefited the people that we grew up among and are linked to forever.

Thank you for displaying confidence in me. I value it all the more, because barely 2 years have passed since you elected me to the Politburo. I know what burden of responsibility I am assuming. Today, I cannot pledge that I will discharge these numerous responsibilities in a way that will satisfy the party and those of you present here. However, I promise that first, I will not spare efforts to retain your confidence although the road may be a bumpy one, and second, I will try not to lose the confidence of the entire party, my party. Against the background of the discussion on the future of our party, a discussion that is rich in interesting appraisals and proposals, I would like to say that I do not intend to be the official receiver presiding over the winding up of the party. As Comrade Jaruzelski said a moment ago, I see no reason, historical or present-day, why the party should go into receivership, although there undoubtedly are people who believe that the party is a thing of the past as an ideological formation.

I am assuming a great many responsibilities, which I will not, of course, be able to discharge without your help and active participation. I am thinking of the Central Committee. While holding consultations on more important decisions with the party base, listening carefully to the opinions of rank-and-file members, conscientiously noting the proposals made in party intellectual communities—the increased ferment in this respect is particularly valuable for the future of the party—no one should have any doubts about where leadership resides within the party. It is provided by the Central Committee and the party organs elected by it, which run the party on a day-to-day basis.

During the 1980's, under the leadership of First Secretary Jaruzelski, contacts between the leadership and Central Committee members assumed a qualitatively new character. This strengthened Central Committee members' belief that they are not simply pawns. I would remind you that on-going consultations concerning important decisions with Central Committee members became an institution in the eighties. I know from personal experience that, excluding the period 1945-48, it was during the difficult years of the eighties that listening to the opinions of Central Committee members and the party aktiv became the norm.

There were times when being a Central Committee member did not really mean much: One would attend plenums, roles would be assigned, and speeches were stripped of any bolder, personal views and thoughts. Today, this is already part of the distant past. Every party member—both rank-and-file members and those who hold office—can develop and enrich his own individuality if he so wishes. This is precisely the type of party member that we must and will foster jointly. This type of character must manifest itself in action above all and not only in debate. As far as discussion is concerned, we currently find ourselves engaged in a lively exchange of views on various issues that are important for the party. This includes both the causes of the election defeat, the degree of awareness in the party, the level of party activity, and the party's future, above all. Fertile soil is appearing for the development of the party program that we will adopt at the 11th congress. We do not intend to set any kind of framework for the discussion that is taking place.

We are living at a time when it is sometimes difficult to establish a boundary between what is innovative in socialism, what is necessary and essential, and what are opportunistic concessions that will erode the principles that gave rise to our movement and gave birth to People's Poland. There are problems with establishing the limits of disputes, with establishing what is right and what is wrong. How can we get out of this situation? This can only be accomplished by exercising collective wisdom and a readiness to accept the principles that no one has a monopoly on the truth, a principle that is obvious, but difficult to implement. However, I have to remind you that all ideas that seek to eliminate the ideological sources of inspiration of our movement are foreign to me. I reject the nonsense about Marxism's demise and the need to replace it with some other source of ideological inspiration. What could provide this source? Today, there is no wise man among us or in the changing socialist community who would be able to answer all the questions troubling and distressing us in an unequivocal way.

I heard someone ask about my political convictions. I said clearly what I had to say about the party in the context of the Sejm and Senate elections and the party's tasks, and I think that I expressed it all in a clear-cut manner in the speech that I made at the meeting with Wroclaw party aktiv. I set out my attitude toward the criticism of the government made over the last few weeks and toward the circumstances under which I became head of government for 9 months in the interview that I gave to TRYBUNA LUDU last week. I do not think that I should repeat the thoughts that I expressed on those two occasions. During the debate, several comrades

expressed concern about the mounting opposition offensive against the "Rakowski government" and, in particular, the announcement that a proposal would be submitted in the Sejm calling for the establishment of an extraordinary commission to examine the work of the government during this difficult period. One comrade expressed the view that this was an attempt to discredit both the new first secretary and to create an opportunity for attacking our social and economic policies generally and not just over the last 9 months. I think that this is quite true, because the more enlightened members of the Sejm opposition know perfectly well that the government's reform actions are extensive and have benefited the country and that they are viewed positively abroad, as well as by those forces in the capitalist world that actively support the opposition. There is no doubt that this action taken in the Sejm by the opposition is a deliberate political ploy.

As first secretary of our party, I do not intend to get involved in futile polemics and proving that I am not some kind of beast of burden. I just want to say that we are not seeking arguments with the opposition. It is only when we are provoked that we will always respond with a struggle. We are interested in business-like and genuinely constructive cooperation. The reason for this is not the wish to avoid any inconvenience or a desire for peace and quiet, but the well-being of the country. If this kind of constructive cooperation is established, then people will soon realize who should really be trusted. Besides, for many people, the opposition already appears in a somewhat different light than a few weeks ago. The wheel of history turns very rapidly in our country. Sympathy can quickly turn into antipathy.... I agree with the comrade who said that one cannot exclude the possibility that the opposition is trying to compensate for its sever lack of an economic program by launching an attack on the government....

Among the many great tasks that we face as a party, we attach particular importance to what is happening in primary party organizations. An assessment of the state of primary party organizations, especially recently, provides no grounds for satisfaction. There has been a drop in the level of activity in many primary organizations. Who is to blame for this state of affairs? It is, above all, due to the mood that has arisen within the party following our election defeat and quite a lot of other reasons that we will not discuss today. One thing is certain, when we talk about party activity and invigorating party life, it essentially comes down to the basic cell, the so-called primary party organization. Being absorbed in great debates, we sometimes fail to take notice of these basic cells, which were always cornerstone of the strength of the socialist and communist movement. We have to accord them special attention.

We have spoken about the importance of the time in which we find ourselves. That this is an important time is undoubtedly true. This is not just because of the election defeat, the current political condition of the party and its morale, and the need to reappraise many of our views. Its importance also stems from the fact that the whole community of socialist countries, all of Europe, and the whole world are following what is happening in Poland today, our party, what we are saying today and what we will say tomorrow, and what we will do today and what we will do tomorrow. It is no exaggeration to say that to a significant extent the future of socialism in global terms is being decided in Poland. I am not exaggerating. That is the truth. The left throughout the world is primarily interested in whether we will succeed in creating a socialism that will accord with the spirit of the times and present-day needs. Everything that is happening in Poland also impacts on the other socialist countries, and does so in both a positive and a negative sense. It is understandable that the main centers in the capitalist world that are supporting the opposition have other goals with respect to the development of the situation in Poland. This is understandable. There is need for us to close our eyes to the fact that in addition to invigorating winds of reform, we also find ourselves having to deal with a struggle that possesses a class character. The offense that is being waged by anticommunist forces is a fact that should not be treated lightly.... To end, I would like to express sincere thanks to those comrades who have left the leadership of the party today. I have and, I think, will continue to enjoy ties of mutual sympathy, confidence, and friendship with many of them. I thank them for the years that I spent among them. I also feel that there is a need to address at least a few words to our president, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, our first secretary of many years standing. I associate him with the some of the toughest years of my life.

I recall going to visit him at the Ministry of National Defense in Klonowa Street in November 1980, after having sent him a manuscript of a book of mine that still could not appear at that time. He spent a few days reading it and said a few words about it that have impressed themselves on my memory. They were not only words of recognition for me as the author of the book but also words of self-criticism about himself, the reader. Then came February 1981. The general proposed that I accept a post as vice premier. As I am by nature a chronicler who diligently records various matters, including people's attitudes, I now confess that I observed my chief and his reactions to individual phenomena and events every day, how he struggled with difficult material and with the myriad number of unfortunate facts that we were buried under. On many occasions, I observed how patiently and with what tact he explained the motives of his actions to his immediate and more distant colleagues. I observed him particularly intently in the fall of 1981, as the onrush of anarchy gained in momentum. It was at that time that I felt growing respect for him; it was then that I noticed that he possessed great character and great inner strength. In addition to this, I was astonished by the physical strength that he possessed. I often wondered how he could carry on with the many sleepless nights, and I can remember

when it was even impossible to lie down for just 15 minutes. What I want to stress above all is that the line of accord and struggle emerged and was decided on by him then, in 1981, and not in the years that came after that. I also observed the vacillation and reluctance that preceded the decision to introduce martial law. I saw how he struggled with himself and I am full of respect for his attitude during this period. Then there was period of moving away from martial law. There was the Consultative Council, the amnesty for political prisoners, the resolute efforts to break the isolation surrounding Poland, and then there were the accords, the "round-table," an undeniably innovative concept, and finally, there was the 10th plenum. All of this took place under difficult economic circumstances. However, it is undoubtedly very pleasing that this is the first time in the history of our party that a first secretary is leaving the office with his head held high and is doing so to assume the most eminent post in our country. This is cause for pride. He has not been driven out, he has not been pilloried like his predecessors. I think that is primarily due to the policy that he implemented so resolutely, a policy that accords with the interests of the people, as well as his personal traits. I have always admired his tact, moderation, and mild manner, but also his resolve.

Accord and struggle is the main message that we should take over from Wojciech Jaruzelski, who is now former first secretary our party, from a comrade to whom we owe our entry onto a broad path of the genuine democratization of political, social, and economic relations.

Swiecicki Outlines Politburo Meeting on Economy

LD0808212989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1730 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Interview with Macin Swiecicki, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by Correspondent Marek Lewicki on 8 August, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Lewicki] I am asking Dr Marcin Swiecicki, secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, to evaluate the part of today's Politburo meeting that dealt with the economy.

[Swiecicki] We have evaluated the situation on the food market following the introduction of the free market measures. In spite of the significant increase in prices, there is still a lact of continuity in sales. There are shortages of the four basic commodities which were to be sold continually. [sentence indistinct] The main reason for this is that the farmers do not want to supply larger quantities of produce to the contract-purchasing points. For instance, the contract purchasing of meat stands at 60 percent of the level during the same period last year. That is because contract purchasing prices still are too low for the farmers, or rather because the farmers have nothing to buy with their money. So, at the moment we are tapping the state reserves and we are importing, but this situation must change quickly. [sentence indistinct] The public concern caused by this is understandable, of course. One must stress here that the compensatory payment for food price rises will be paid in full for everyone. [passage indistinct]

Orzechowski Discusses New Role of PUWP

LD0808224389 Warsaw PAP in English 2206 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 8—Following are excerpts from a statement made for PAP by Marian Orzechowski, the chairman of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] parliamentary floor group, on how he evaluates the work of the caucus one month after its formation:

I think that one could describe it as positive. We have all entered a difficult, long and unavoidable road—full of pitfalls—of parliamentary democracy. The role of political parties is strictly determined in it. The party simply ceases to be a "government" or governing party. It is simply becoming a political party. Decisions of state character are falling to constitutional bodies such as the president, parliament or government. Personally, I welcome this change with big satisfaction. In it I see a chance that my party will really become a political and ideological force.

The role of the PUWP parliamentary floor group is becoming a political "novelty." It does not want to be a passive executor of the decisions of the party leadership anymore. It wishes to become a factor co-creating the programmatic line of the party. It wants its voice to count in decision-making of fundamental significance for the whole party. The 13th PUWP Central Committee plenum accepted such a role of the floor group.

Under the PUWP statute, the Central Committee is the highest authority of the party between congresses. The floor group in the Sejm also operates under its political leadership because there can be only one leadership centre in each party, Orzechowski said.

Commenting on two important votes in the Sejm, the first for Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak to the post of premier during which the PUWP floor group and the coalition parties were able to gain considerable majority, and the vote on setting up a parliamentary commission to evaluate the undertakings of Premier Rakowski's government, Orzechowski stated:

I disapprove of the atmosphere in which the commission was set up. It was full of voices far removed from objectivity. The judgement was passed before-hand, before the commission was set up.

Basically no matter-of-fact arguments, no objective determinants which deputies, also from our floor group spoke of and which ministers spoke of, were not taken into account at all. The withdrawal of earlier announced support for the motion to set up the special commission surfaced against this backdrop. This happened in a

situation when the verdict was passed beforehand, a political verdict. The motion to set up the commission won a majority. We entered it.

We will strive for the outcome of the commission's activities to be the most objective, for the truth to prevail.

Strikes in Various Regions Continue Over Pay

LD0808151289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] According to our regional correspondents in many towns strikes are continuing mainly over pay. In Zamech enterprise in Elblag about 80 percent of the workers on the first shift have not started work. Yesterday talks were held with the management of the enterprise, who agreed to increase average pay by over Z50,000. The workforce, however, is demanding three times more. Among the demands of the workers are also the abolition of work on contract, verification of the companies operating in the enterprise, changing the tax system, as well as depoliticizeation. Talks concerning pay only have been going on since this morning.

In the steelworks named after Marceli Nowotko in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, where two departments have been on strike since yesterday, a majority of the workers joined the strike today. Here, too, the dispute concerns remuneration.

Since early this morning mailmen in Rzeszow have been on strike. The strike was jointly announced by the Solidarity trade union as well as by the trade unions of the employees of the post office belonging to the WPZZ [Voivodship Trade Union Accord]. All post offices are closed; intercity telephone links are cut off; collection and distribution of letters and parcels, except those containing food, and of telegrams, except emergency ones, have been suspended. Only disability and other pensions will be paid out. According to the representatives of the strike committee it has not been possible to embark on talks with the management on pay and working conditions since 20 July. Such talks are to be started today.

On the other hand, in Wroclaw a pay agreement between the strike committee and the management of the voivodship enterprise Polish Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone has been signed.

PAP Reports Strike Actions

LD0808222189 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 8—Strike tension continues throughout Poland, according to information coming in from PAP correspondents today.

Postal employees began a strike in Rzeszow today. It is of a sit-in character, customers are not allowed inside. The strike was announced by both trade unions (Solidarity and those affiliated to OPZZ) [National Trade Union Confederation]. The strikers are demanding better pay and working conditions.

The strike in post office no. 2 in Poznan was continued on Tuesday.

On the other hand, employees of the western district railway authority covering the Wielkopulska and Ziemia Lubuska regions, continued strike alert without stopping work.

Strike alert was also under way in the Wielkopolska district gas plant.

Sit-in strikes expanded from the afternoon today. Post offices in the Rzeszow Voivodship maintain no services other than telephone communication.

A sit-in strike held since Monday drew to an end today at the fruit-and-vegetable processing plant in Miedzychod, Gorzow Voivodship, after an agreement was signed with management. Wages went up by an average 65-70 thousand zloties per employee. Such high wage raises will seriously hike taxes paid by the plant.

Protest action is under way in several other plants in Gorzow. The PKP railway enterprise, the PKS bus transportation enterprise, the power plant, retail trade enterprise and gas plant are demanding higher wages.

A strike was suspended in the "Stomil" rubber plant in Grudziadz today. The sides in the dispute, the strike committee and management, adopted the compromise proposals of the Workers Council.

Employees of the Szczecin district PKS busing authority covering the Szczecin and Gorzow Voivodship began a two-hour warning strike at 10 a.m. today. It was prepared and carried out by both trade unions operating in the district—branch trade unions and Solidarity—and was preceded by a protest action. This way employees of the district expressed their dissatisfaction at the lack of final solutions aimed at improving organizational and wage conditions in the PKS authority.

The crews of two branches of the Zamech factory in Elblag, coastal Poland, namely the metallurgic and ship components ones, striked today. They demanded higher piece rates.

The sailing crew of the Polish sea rescue fleet in Gdynia also announced a protest action. The situation in the enterprise basically warrants a strike but there is no one to hold the strike as the rescue fleet lacks sailors who left for better paid jobs in other shipping companies.

The nearly 15-thousand-strong crew of the Marceli Nowotko steelworks in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski began a sit-in strike in the morning today. All production departments, internal transportation came to a halt with only telephone communication being maintained.

The chairman of the Independent Trade Union of the Employees of the Steelworks, Ryszard Przysucha told PAP that the strike was called by all three trade union organizations operating in the works, including Solidarity and the trade union of economic-technical employees of the steelworks. The strikers demanded wage raises of 100 thousand zloties per each employee. The stiff stand of the strike committee indicates that the impasse situation of this steel giant could last for a long time.

Buses of the MPK municipal busing authority in Bialystok, eastern Poland began to pull into depots from the streets in the afternoon today. A banner reading "sit-in strike" appeared over the gate of the enterprise. The strike was not announced by trade unions operating in the enterprise.

Talks began between representatives of the crew and management and municipal authorities after the strike was announced. By 8 p.m. buses did not return on the city's streets.

Transportation Workers Win Increase in Pay

LD0808222589 Warsaw PAP in English
1820 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 8—The government side and unionists organized in the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) and Solidarity, representatives of employees of the State Motor Enterprise (PKS), signed here today a protocol on pay rises.

The document is a result of two-day talks, chaired by Minister for Cooperation with Trade Unions Jozef Oleksy. The pays will be risen as of this Aug. 1. The sides came out for the end or suspension of all protest actions and strikes as of today.

Irrespective of the adopted protocol, unionists made a joint statement in which they appealed to all striking workers of the PKS to stop such actions and demanded that no disciplinary and legal measures be taken in relation to strikers.

Industry Minister Holds Talks in Washington

AU0808130489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
5-6 Aug 89 p 6

[Dispatch by Jerzy Gorski, PAP correspondent: "We Have Taken the First Step"]

[Excerpts] Industry Minister Mieczyslaw Wilczek has ended his talks in Washington with representatives of the U.S. Administration and U.S. industrial and banking circles.

Accompanied by Jan Kinast, Polish ambassador to the United States, Minister Wilczek was received by U.S. Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher and Assistant Secretary of State E. Kimmit. They discussed expanding trade and economic ties between the United States and Poland.

Minister Wilczek also met Fred Zeder, the president of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and the heads of the international financial organization that deals with financing private investment and aiding the development of the private sector. The talks dealt with issues relating to the financing and development of industrial ventures in Poland. Minister Wilczek also held talks in Washington with Bent Servaas, chairman of the Polish-American Economic Council.

As part of talks concerning the development of Polish refineries and the Polish petrochemical industry, the Polish industry minister held meetings with representatives of the following corporations: Bechtel, Drexel, Amoco, Occidental Petroleum, Hunt, Dalinco Company, Johnson and Johnson, and representatives of the City Bank Corporation.

In a statement made to PAP's Washington correspondent, Minister Wilczek stressed that the main purpose of his visit to the United States was to hold talks that would confirm the Polish Government's determined stance on implementing the program for the processing of crude oil, which envisages crude oil processing increasing by 9 million tonnes over a 5-year period.

This calls for the construction of a petrochemical and refinery complex, including the expansion of the refinery in Gdansk, the construction of an appropriate petrochemical complex in Plock, as well as the construction of a new refinery with a 6-million-tonne capacity in Czechowice and of suitable petrochemical plants in Blachownia and Oswiecim. This is an ambitious program that calls for the investment of about $1 billion in those areas that are of interest to American firms.

Minister Wilczek said that the Polish proposals concerning cooperation in implementing the program drew a response from a series of American engineering and finance companies, including the City Bank Corporation of New York and the engineering firms of Drexel and Bechtel. [passage omitted]

Minister Wilczek said that the interest displayed in the program was also reflected in the way in which the Polish delegation was received by both business and administration circles. This is, of course, a by-product of the stand assumed by President Bush, who said that the United States wants to be actively involved in helping Poland realize economic and political reforms, and a result of cold calculations on the part of American economic circles, who believe that, despite the economic crisis, Poland constitutes a large and profitable market.

Minister Wilczek stressed that he received a very favorable response from representatives of the administration, government organizations, and organizations affiliated to the United Nations Organization. The American side stressed that President Bush's visit to Poland and the historic political and economic changes that are taking place in our country have contributed to the change in the attitude of business and banking circles toward Poland.

Wilczek said: "Our mission was of a special kind. The purpose of it was to find ways of financing profitable investment in Poland outside of U.S. Government institutions. Until now none of the large American companies wanted to talk about ventures of this kind in Poland. What we now have is a kind of breakthrough, a first step."

General Jasinski Presents Report on U.S. Visit

LD0808182589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski has received General Antoni Jasinski, the deputy minister of national defense, who is simultaneously deputy commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces. Gen Jasinski presented to his armed forces superior a report on his official visit to the United States at the head of the Polish Armed Forces delegation at the invitation of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. The successful course of the visit confirmed the bilateral will to build the climate of mutual trust and the development of good relations between our countries. This also serves the cause of detente and peaceful cooperation between East and West, we read in the communique.

Meeting Held on Soviet Troop Presence in Brzeg

LD0808140189 Opole Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] An event of special interest today: It has been an unusual, and even first of its kind meeting at the Voivodship Office devoted to the presence of Soviet units in Brzeg, as well as to the use of the air field in the vicinity of Brzeg by the Soviet Air Force. Deputy Wojciech [name indistinct], the Opole Voivoda, the mayor of Brzeg city and parish, and the plenipotentiary of the government of the Polish People's Republic for matters connected with the presence of Soviet troops in Poland, took part in the meeting. Conclusions arising from this meeting are to be submitted to the Sejm by the minister of national defense.

Polish Tourists Reportedly Murdered in Ukraine

AU0808131489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Aug 89 p 6

[PAP report: "Polish Tourists in Ukraine Probably Crime Victims"]

[Excerpts] A PAP journalist has obtained information from the consular department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicating that an intensive investigation is being conducted into explaining the circumstances surrounding the deaths of a Polish couple, identified as W., whose bodies were found near their burned out automobile in Karaczesy [spelling as published] on the Zhitomir-Rovne road in the Ukraine. Everything points to their being victims of a crime. The Consulate General of the Polish People's Republic in Kiev is maintaining close, constant contact with criminal investigation organs in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. [passage omitted]

The consular department of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs believes that there are no grounds for asserting that there is some special threat to the safety of Polish tourists traveling in the Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Former U.N. Rights Expert Threatened by Police
AU0908073389 Paris AFP in English
0722 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Geneva, Aug 9 (AFP)—The Romanian author of a U.N. report on human rights has told his former U.N colleagues here that police officers who follow him day and night in Romania have threatened to kill him.

Dumitru Mazilu, a former human rights expert with the United Nations, said in a 14-page letter to U.N. officials here: "I consider it is my duty to inform you that since 1986 I am in captivity, under an unprecedented terror and that the life of my wife and my son are in danger."

The letter was addressed to the presidents of the General Assembly and the U.N. Sub-Commission on Human Rights which is currently meeting here.

The human rights body charged Mr Mazilu with submitting a comprehensive report on the situation of human rights and youth worldwide in 1986.

"I am determined to tell the truth regarding the existing situation of human rights and youth in all countries, including my own," the letter said, adding that Romanian "authorities have taken every possible step to prevent me from preparing and submitting my report."

He said he was being held like "a hostage in my own country."

"They have suspended my passport. They have confiscated my correspondence with the U.N. Centre for Human Rights. My access to the U.N. Information Centre in Bucharest has been blocked by policemen and by police cars," he added.

"After my talk with the U.N. Centre for Human Rights in May 1988, my telephone has been interrupted."

Mr Mazilu, his wife and his son were being followed by "more than 30 policemen day and night," according to his own account.

"After the adoption, on the 1st of September 1988, by the subcommission, of the resolution regarding my report, the police terror against me and against my family became much more aggressive," he continued.

"The policemen, who are watching me, have threatened to kill me. They have declared that they have the approval of their leaders to kill me as soon as possible."

He said he also "received threatening letters with the following content: 'Give up! Obey them! Or you will die!'"

The letters were signed "The Sons of Revolution."

Mr Mazilu said he "lost everything except for my faith in the noble cause of human rights" in these three years "because I have refused to lie and to abandon my report."

Summing up the results of his human rights and youth survey, Mr Mazilu said "Life, freedom and security of young people are still endangered in many countries including mine."

He also reported "an increasing number of arbitrary mass executions, involuntary disappearances of young people for their opposition."

Mr Mazilu said the systematic destruction of villages in Romania and the ensuing resettlement of villagers were "barbaric" and a "sacrilege" and due to have "a terrible impact on the life of the young generations."

He estimated the number of youths deprived of freedom of opinion in the world at 40 million.

Fifty million youths had no freedom of conscience and religion, and 90 million were deprived of freedom of association, he said.

Seventy million were facing "extraordinary obstacles and difficulties to have their right to leave their country or to return accepted."

He said 150 million people were toiling under forced labor conditions and 300 million were underpaid or not paid at all.

Ceausescu Receives CPCZ's Secretary Lenart
AU0808182489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1658 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 8/8/1989—On Tuesday, August 8, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received in Snagov Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], who is paying a visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by the Central Committee of the RCP.

On the occasion, President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed a warm message of salute and wishes of success in his entire activity on behalf of Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and Ladislav Adamec, prime minister of Czechoslovakia.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak and Ladislav Adamec, the Czechoslovak party and state leadership a warm salute and the best wishes.

During the interview, emphasis was placed on the relations of close friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples which, in the spirit of the understandings reached during the summit meetings and talks in Bucharest and Prague, have seen continuous development. It was considered that the more marked expansion of the links between the RCP and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural planes, as well as in other areas of activity was in the interest and for the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of the general cause of socialism and peace in the world.

During the talks, the concerns were outlined of the RCP and of the CPCZ for the building of the new system by creatively applying the principles of scientific socialism to the specific conditions in each country.

Current aspects of the international life were approached and the importance was underscored of strengthening the unity and solidarity of the communist and worker parties, of the progressive forces everywhere, of all peoples in the fight for the achievement of nuclear and conventional disarmament, for the ensurance of a climate of detente, security, understanding and broad cooperation in Europe and in the world.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP.

Also present was Jan Papp, Czechoslovakia's ambassador in Bucharest.

Ceausescu Receives Zairian Economy Official

AU0808181489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1703 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 8/8/1989—On Tuesday, August 8, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received in Snagov Mwando Nsimba, deputy first state commissioner in charge of economic, financial and monetary affairs and state commissioner in the Department of Agriculture of the Republic of Zaire, who is paying a visit to Romania.

The guest conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a cordial salute and feelings of deep esteem and consideration for his activity devoted to Romania's manysided development and to the establishment of a world climate of peace, understanding and collaboration on behalf of Mobutu Sese Seko, founding president of Movement Populaire de la Revolution, president of the Republic of Zaire.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed President Mobutu Sese Seko his salute and the best wishes of good health and success in his entire activity.

During the interview, emphasis was placed on the fine relations of collaboration between Romania and Zaire, relations which develop continuously, in line with those agreed upon at top level. At the same time, the importance was underscored of the stepped up implementation of the understandings reached at summit level for the intensification of economic collaboration, for the identification of further possibilities to implement the two countries' development programmes.

The belief was expressed that the manysided promotion of the links between Romania and Zaire was for the mutual benefit, for the benefit of the cause of understanding and peaceful cooperation among nations.

SCINTEIA Examines 'Socialist Democracy'

AU0808190389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1631 GMT 8 Aug 89

["People Are Governing Society"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 8/8/1989—The 8 August issue of "SCINTEIA," organ of the Central Committee of the RCP [Romanian Communists Party], runs an article on the system of democratic management of the Romanian contemporary society which reads inter alia: Cardinal issue in the theoretic work of the Romanian Communist Party, the revolutionary worker democracy is also a basic part of the strategy of building the multilaterally developed socialist society, of its entire practical activity. In the RCP's vision, socialism and democracy are organically linked in the creation structures and the development of the new system.

Founded on the socialist property, the revolutionary worker democracy in Romania pursues first of all the development of the former, of the relations of production, of all social relationships.

The truth facts have confirmed is that the socialist property is an objective law of the building of the new system and it stands out today when conceptions and practices in the international life deny or play down, in one way or another, the role of socialist property in achieving progress, building an advanced socialist economy. Bringing out in bold relief the role of socialist property, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in the speech delivered at the recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP: "We must forcefully evince the fundamental, crucial role of the socialist ownership over the production means, the fact that the whole people's property and the cooperative property are vital requirements for the implementation of the new socialist system."

The idea—clearly expressed in the speech—is that any diminution of the role of socialist property, the return to certain forms of capitalist property, even small property,

is to go years back, to place in jeopardy not only the socialist development, but the people's socio-economic development, their welfare and independence.

This is the spirit of the approach to the problems of revolutionary worker democracy, of the democratic system of running the Romanian society.

Romania boasts a political system where, under the leadership of the working class, the whole people take part in decisionmaking to set the current and long-term policies in society.

In the revolutionary process of socialist construction deep-going changes have been wrought in all sectors of social life, starting with the very essence of the political power and extending to the building of the unitary socialist economy based on socialist property, the establishment of new relations of production, of a new system of distribution, the creation of a suprastructure meeting the objective conditions of the socialist way of life. In the period elapsed since the Ninth Party Congress, sustained action has been taken to create new democratic structures. The continual reconsideration and deepening of the values of the Romanian socialist democracy have proceeded along the line of improving the functional structures of the representative democracy, of extending direct democracy in particular, so as to organically blend these basic components of the whole people's participation in governing society. As for the representative democracy, measures have been taken to extend the representative and control traits of the elected state power bodies—the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils; the electoral system has been improved, the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] has a growing role in elections of deputies and in the legislative process.

Likewise, after the Ninth RCP Congress, a genuine framework has been created, with a wide range of harmoniously articulated structures and means which gave all working people, with no discrimination at all, the right to make options and decisions as regards the country's internal and external policy, the long-term prospects of societal development, current problems regarding the economy, work, science, culture, administration, etc.
es were created, working people's general meetings have been institutionalized as higher forums of owners and producers; work structures and collective management have been generalized and improved in all social organisms; broadly representative and deliberative bodies have been set up at a national level—congresses of people working in industry, construction, transport and other fields, of agriculture, of people's councils, of science and education, etc., which also have standing organs. Dual social organisms, party and state bodies, have been created, such as the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development of Romania, the National Council for Science and Technology, the Socialist Culture and Education Council, etc. Mass and public organizations, the role of which has been reassessed in accordance with new facts, have become structures for the organized participation of their members in the management of social life, of the socialist state, being present in all state bodies, the government included.

The Socialist Democracy and Unity Front—expression of the moral and political unity of all social classes and categories round the party—has turned into the broadest representative political organism, rallying all working people, under the RCP leadership, to the implementation of the internal and external policy. The democratic system pursues, at all its echelons, the implementation of the leading role of the working class, the achievement of worker control in a unitary system including the major branches of the socio-economic activity.

An essential facet of the democratic organization and management of society, guarantee of the operation and improvement of the revolutionary worker democracy, consists in the assertion of the role of the Communist Party as vital centre of the nation.

The growing role of the party is the sound guarantee of the implementation of the great targets traced by the master programme and the theses for the 14th congress, of the affirmation of the superiority of the new system, built by the people and for the people, "SCINTEIA" winds up.

Sundic Views U.S. Anti-Yugoslav Resolution

LD0808161189 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Now for our commentary. By upholding the anti-Yugoslav resolution on human rights in the U.S. Senate, Yugoslavia has been dealt a severe blow and so have the traditionaly good and friendly relations between the two countries. Yugoslavia has never accepted alien tutelage, nor will it accept U.S. tutelage. Here is a commentary by Milika Sundic.

[Sundic] The resolution that has just been adopted by the U.S Senate—which concerns a demand that Yugoslavia unconditionally grant amnesty to political prisoners and guarantee human rights to all citizens in the country—represents crude interference in the internal affairs of our country, with possible consequences for overall Yugoslav-U.S. relations. This is all the more so because the U.S. Senate has relied on the testimony of one of the inveterate nationalists, Dobroslav Paraga, who was in a Yugoslav prison and who now is moving freely around the United States and Canada without fear of anything happening to him upon his return. There is no country in the world without political and other prisoners, including the United States. Certainly there are no prisons which anyone can tolerate, and not in our country either. There never can be too many human freedoms, even in countries like the United States which teaches others about freedom and democracy but in a selective way, which is so transparent that not even the best-intentioned observer could believe in the sincerity of the U.S. congressmen's motives. Particularly worrying is the fact that the U.S. Government, or rather the State Department, has not done anything to prevent the adoption of this anti-Yugoslav resolution. This, however it may be justified, is in direct contrast to the frequently given assurances by the U.S. side that the United States will respect the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. It must be recognized—whatever anyone thinks about this and whatever resolutions have been adopted—that there are no people in Yugoslav prisons who have not infringed upon currently valid laws and principles on territorial indivisibility. However, if abuse does sometimes occur, no one has been so severe against this abuse as the Yugoslav public, which is orientated towards respecting human rights. Yugoslavia is very concerned that all people be free, but at the same time, that it protect the freedom of its own people from those who endanger it. We are, in fact, currently and have been for a long time at a watershed on the outcome of which both our freedom and our democracy depend. We cannot assert that we have done everything, but we reject—and energetically at that—any external preaching. After all, if we ourselves are not in a position to find ourselves, and we are trying to do this, the last thing that can help us is a resolution like this U.S. one, which makes the imperative demand that we behave as others think we ought to. No free and independent country can permit this—nor can ours—and especially if it comes from a country that hushes up many much more serious threats to human freedom and which itself—beginning with Vietnam and going on through Grenada—has performed these many crimes. Even today, in defending its so-called vital interests in the world, the United States is behaving in a way contrary to the basic principles of international law. We are accustomed to saying that Yugoslav-U.S. relations are traditionally good and friendly. Even now, we assert this. However, trifling with the right of Yugoslavia to decide its future for itself is a deviation from these principles and we can freely claim that the U.S. Senate is destroying them in an unseemly way.

Press Comments on Recall of Ambassador to U.S.

VECER on 'Monster' of Serb Discontent

AU0808150789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Has Anybody Else Been 'Written Off?"]

[Text] "There are several diplomats featured on Milosevic's 'list of written off people'. Who will be the next victim? Will it be Zvone Deragan, our ambassador to China?", VECER asks today in its article which begins with the assertion that "we are not surprised, but astounded by the fact that Zivorad Kovacevic is no longer our ambassador to the United States."

After claiming that it is no secret why Kovacevic had to "fly home" prematurely and that it has been known for a long time that he was on the "list of the written off," author Vojko Bercko says that "we could not believe that such a capable and prominent ambassador whose work has been highly recognized both at home and abroad and who enjoyed great respect in the host country, will become one of the people sacrificed to the forces provoked by their newly acquired statehood and growing nationalism and who want to tailor Yugoslavia according to their own blueprint."

Further on in his editorial Bercko asks the following: "Are these forces so strong today that they can even move diplomats on their chess board? Has Serbian discontent with some aspects of Yugoslav foreign policy, as well as with attacks against some of its people launched during the recent media campaign, grown into a monster that the highest Yugoslav bodies will have to serve?", the Maribor paper asks.

DELO on Diplomacy

AU0808152789 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Aug 89 p 1

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Danilo Slivnik: "'Differentiated' Diplomacy"]

[Text] It is probably not difficult to imagine why the sudden recall of Ambassador Zivorad Kovacevic from Washington continues to disturb the mind. It raises a

number of important questions about the role of Yugoslav diplomacy under the conditions of a severe internal crisis, and about a conviction that is still firmly present in many places to the effect that we will be able to hide our shortcomings before the world indefinitely by liquidating "unpleasant witnesses" or by arrogant demands that foreigners adjust their views to "our facts" or renounce their views.

At this moment we do not intend to poke into the question why Ivo Vajgl, spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, likes so much to answer questions with the words "no comment," or "I am not authorized," because perhaps it is not only his own fault, although everyone would expect that the secretariat press service would offer the greatest possible volume of information precisely in such extraordinary conditions. However, we cannot bypass the question which has been posed in the past months in connection with some other internal events (for instance with the introduction of the emergency measures in Kosovo), the question of how great the actual influence of Serbian policy is in some federal organs and services, and to what extent this influence is already harming common Yugoslav state interests.

There is no doubt that the recall of Zivorad Kovacevic has harmed the entire state and that we have thus reached the point when we will have to resolutely resist all the forceful "differentiations" in the Serbian politics, regardless of the field in which they are being implemented. Diplomacy has been only one of these fields lately.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Holds News Conference
AU0708201989 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Indonesian Delegation Will Be Led by Suharto"]

[Text] Indonesia attaches great importance to the forthcoming summit on nonaligned countries in Belgrade, because it is held at the time of essential political and economic changes in the world. This was stated yesterday in Belgrade at a news conference given by Ali Alatas, foreign minister of Indonesia, who is paying a working visit to Yugoslavia.

The Indonesian foreign minister said that his country's delegation at nonaligned summit in Belgrade will be led by President Suharto. He also said that the summit will pay special attention to the economic development of nonaligned countries and that the emphasis will be placed on the more active role of the movement so that a more balanced economic development can be achieved.

Minister Ali Alatas stressed that it is necessary to strengthen cooperation between North and South and added that general problems should be treated as a whole rather than partially and within the framework of bilateral relations. Regarding the international conference on Cambodia recently held in Paris, in which he also took part, the Indonesian foreign minister expressed the hope that the problem of this country will be resolved by the summit in Belgrade.

Mitrovic Receives Cuban Minister Malmierca
LD0808135589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1148 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic met here today with Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca for talks on bilateral economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

The talks were also attended by Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Pedro Diaz Arcia, Cuban Ambassador in Belgrade Zoila Rosales Brito and Deputy Foreign Secretary in charge of economic relations with foreign countries Boza Jovanovic.

Albanians Charged Over Urosevac Demonstrations
AU0808140589 Pristina RILINDJA
in Albanian 29 Jul 89 p 19

[A.M. report: "Nine Demonstrators Charged"]

[Text] Investigations have been concluded in the cases of nine suspects from Urosevac, Vitina, and Stimje, regarding their participation in the March demonstrations in Urosevac.

Rashit Lubishtani (25), unemployed from Gornja Slatina near Vitina; Agim Reka (19), a cobbler from Urosevac; Ragip Ilazi (25), unemployed from Urosevac, and sentenced once before; Muhabi Neziri (34), a history teacher from Slatina near Vitina; Basri Hysenaj (25), unemployed from Petrova near Stimje, and sentenced once before for a misdemeanor; Sami Rexhepi (30), a storeman from Urosevac, sentenced once before; Naser Kacabashi (30), a tailor from Toplican near Lipljan; Muharrem Gashi (28), unemployed from Urosevac; and Muzafer Hafizi (28), a student from Lubiste resident in Urosevac, have been accused of the crime of posing a counterrevolutionary threat to the social order.

The document of the 26 April opening investigations states that there are grounds for suspicion that, with the aim of overthrowing the rule of the workers class, undermining the social and economic order laid down in the Constitution, violating brotherhood and unity and the equality of peoples and nationalities, and in pursuit of an anticonstitutional change to the federal order, these suspected persons took part in the mass demonstrations in Urosevac on 23 and 25 March this year. They are

accused of behaving in a brutal and aggressive manner, damaging social and private property, and endangering citizens' lives by throwing stones at militiamen, whom they wounded. The document states that they shouted the slogans, "Urosevac has risen to its feet, not to change the Constitution;" "All Kosovo has risen to its feet, not to change the Constitution;" and "Kosovo, yes, yes, yes; Metohija, no, no, no."

Rashit Lubishtani was detained in June after he ran away. Xhevat Halili, investigating judge at the Pristina District Court, said yesterday that the others were detained at various times after 24 April. Lubishtani is being held in the Pristina District Jail, and the others in the Gniljane Jail.

The investigating judge also stated that the investigations have been completed, and that the cases have been passed to the Pristina district public prosecutor.

Some of those charged spent some time in "isolation."

Further on Pristina Construction Workers Dispute

No Agreement Reached

LD0708212189 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] About 300 workers of the Ramiz Sadiku Construction Combine of Pristina dispersed this evening after almost 4 hours of talks with representatives of Pristina and the [Kosovo] Province. The workers remained dissatisfied with a decision by the Executive Council of the Pristina Municipal Assembly to pay out minimal personal incomes of 600,000 dinars by Friday. They are particularly indignant at the plan to put the firm, which employs over 6,000 people, under receivership and to set up a new construction firm. The talks ended without producing any agreement.

Workers Back at Work

AU0808193089 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Summary from poor reception] Following yesterday's work stoppage by 300 workers of the Ramiz Sadiku Construction Enterprise in Pristina, the situation has calmed down. The majority respected the call by the Pristina League of Communists Committee and returned to work today. A meeting of the enterprise's management discussed measures needed to implement the conclusions of the Pristina Commune Executive Council. An agreement was reached to speed up the processing of documentation needed to pay the personal wages of workers.

DELO Comments on 25th LCY Plenum Session

AU0808160089 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Aug 89 p 1

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Danilo Slivnik: "'Isolated' Hegemonization"]

[Text] Shortly before the conclusion of the discussion on "interethnic relations" at the session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] yesterday, some members still attacked its "unclear direction," but it was too late: the occurrences of Serbian nationalism, to which many people have turned a blind eye, and which caused many political upheavals in the country recently, found their way to the agenda in one way or another.

We will not say that the representatives of the several republics had agreed among themselves about the "isolation" of the Serbian (national) homogenization, but it was surprising indeed to see with what resolve the majority of the views emanating from the "anti-bureaucratic revolution" circles and all its various derivations which are supposed to have a "general Yugoslav value" were rejected at the session. We may in fact say that a completely new equilibrium was established in the LCY Central Committee at this session (and in this way probably to a considerable extent in politics at large) in which—along with principled denunciations of nationalism in general—Milosevic's national program in particular got short shrift. What practically happened at the session was that the Macedonians, the Montenegrins, and the Albanians kept silent, the Slovenes persisted in their well-known stands, the Croats, and the Bosnians-Hercegovinians were extremely aggressive, and the Serbs more or less—unsuccessfully—defended themselves.

At the end, all that was left to the Serbian representatives was to try to convince the LCY Central Committee members that it would be best simply to "skip" over some of the latest national disputes.... But there was not much room for naivete left at the session.

Macedonia's Bogdanski on Balkan Cooperation

AU0808204089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 89 p 1

[N. Batkoski, S. Nikolovski report: "A Yugoslavia on the Principles of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia Is the Permanent Orientation"]

[Text] Prohor Pcinjski, 2 Aug—A great people's rally at the Prohor Pcinjski Monastery where the first session of the Anti-Fascist Assembly for the Liberation of Macedonia [ASNOM] was held 45 years ago and which laid the foundations of the modern Macedonian state, marked the Macedonian national holiday and the 86th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising and the setting up of the Krusevo republic.

Alongside ASNOM members, veterans from Macedonia and Serbia who fought together in this region, young people, and citizens, the main celebrations were attended by Lazar Kolisevski, first president of the Macedonian government, Milan Pancevski, Dr Vasil Tupurkovski, Jezdimir Bogdanski, Jakov Lazaroski, Metodija Petrovski, Tomo Sofronievski, Zoran Sokolovic, Vukoje Bulatovic, Radmila Andjelkovic, and other leading officials from the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia and the SR of Macedonia.

Jezdimir Bogdanski, president of the Presidency of the SR of Macedonia, spoke about the importance of the two Macedonian Ilindens, and a new exhibition was opened in the memorial museum of this monastery during the celebrations.

Jezdimir Bogdanski recalled that the first session of ASNOM was the pinnacle of centuries of struggle by the Macedonian people for national liberation from various conquerors and from the aspirations of neighboring states regarding the Macedonian national identity, and said that the actual place that this historical meeting was being held only confirmed even more the joint struggle of the Macedonian and Serbian peoples and the Partisans against the occupiers and domestic traitors.

Bogdanski stressed that the documents from the first session, as well as the decisions made at it, proceeded from the centuries-long ideals of disenfranchized people, and demonstrated the resolution of the Macedonian people to persist in their struggle for social justice and national freedom and statehood.

Through the armed uprising of the 11 October 1941, the Macedonian people under the leadership of Comrade Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia demonstrated their resolution to struggle together with the other Yugoslav peoples and nationalities for their individual and common freedom.

"We will not allow anyone to toy with the achievements which were fought for in the National Liberation War and to threaten freedom and brotherhood and unity in Yugoslavia. We must resolutely and fully settle accounts with those who are trying to threaten the socialist self-managing development of our country and with nationalism in all its forms, while constantly fighting everywhere for Tito's vision of brotherhood and unity and for a Yugoslavia based on the principles of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] in its original form," said Jezdimir Bogdanski when he spoke about recent occurrences of nationalism and attacks on Yugoslavia.

"We must always bear in mind the fact that an AVNOJ Yugoslavia is an inviolable orientation for the Macedonian people, but it is also the common interest and responsibility of every people and nationality. Therefore we—that is, each in their own community, above all, but also everyone together in all parts of the country—must energetically fight against anti-socialist and anti-self-managing phenomena and their proponents, as well as against attempts to provoke and spread national intolerance and hatred and behavior which puts at risk the equality of peoples and nationalities and the security and safety of working people and citizens," said Bogdanski. The president of the Presidency of the SR of Macedonia also dealt with phenomena which threaten the national rights of Macedonians in neighboring countries and with current attempts to deny the existence of the Macedonian nation.

We are again emphasizing our permanent interest in the position of Macedonians in neighboring countries and our concern about their situation in neighboring Greece, Bulgaria, and Albania, and we are demanding that they have the right to freely express their Macedonian national identity, which is of essential importance for the promotion and development of cooperation in the Balkans.

Unfortunately, said the president of the Presidency of the SR of Macedonia, since the ministerial conference of Balkan countries which was organized in Belgrade with great enthusiasm and the hope that it would signify a turnaround and new beginning in truly good-neighbor communication and existence in Balkan countries, it has been shown that some countries are not prepared to transform the declared wishes for good-neighborliness into the appropriate practical behavior.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

The Balkans for the Balkan Peoples

It is particularly worrying that in neighboring Bulgaria an on-going policy is being conducted to assimilate Macedonians, particularly those in the Pirin region of Macedonia, and that facts from the past and present of our people are being distorted. In total contradiction to the wishes that have been expressed, neighboring Greece is also failing to recognize the basic national rights of Macedonians. In neighboring Albania, which has openly recognized the existence of Macedonians, official data on their numbers is being constantly reduced and the opportunities to gain an insight into the realization of their rights is being limited. Therefore, we are saying once again: The future of the Balkans cannot be sought in a resurrection of the ghosts of the past. If the Balkans belongs to the Balkan peoples, then it is clear that cooperation among them is an imperative of our times, said Jezdimir Bogdanski, president of the Presidency of the SR of Macedonia.